FBIS

# DAILY REPORT CONTENTS

## Eastern Europe

Vol II No 084

30 April 1984

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

CEMA Summit: Reasons for Disagreement AA 1
        [Belgrade]
Attempts To Sow Grudge Into CEMA Will Fail AA 3
        [Latta in Bratislava PRAVDA 26 Apr]

CSCE/MBFR/DISARMAMENT

Fischer on Missiles in GDR, East-West Relations BB 1
        [Vienna]
Nonaligned Group Proposes Athens Final Document BB 1
        [TANJUG]
SPD's Disarmament Expert: Halt Deployment BB 2
        [DPA]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Helicopter Incident: U.S. Adventurous Policy D 1
    Violation Previously Planned D 1
Reagan's PRC Trip, USSR-PRC Relations Examined D 1
Socialist, U.S. Foreign Policies Contrasted D 3
        [Vilimek]
FRG's Egon Bahr Interviewed on European Security D 4
Algerian President Ends Visit, Departs D 5
Arrival of Foreign Delegations for May Day D 5
Joint Declaration on 40th Liberation Anniversary D 6
        [Bratislava PRAVDA 21 Apr]
Success Linked With Defense of Leninism D 13
Briefs: SFRY Trade Commission D 14

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Reagan Meets Deng Xiaoping; Ends Beijing Visit E 1
PRC Delegates Tour Leipzig Factory, Concert Hall E 1
FRG Official, Mittag Discuss Intra-German Ties E 1
        [DPA]
    Mittag: Remove U.S. Missiles E 2
Fischer Visit, Talks in Austria Continue E 3
    Meets CP Chairman E 3
    Received by Sinowatz E 3
    Ambassador Gives Reception E 3
    Vienna Coverage E 4
        [cross-reference]
Kleiber Holds Talks With Al-Asad in Damascus E 4
    Al-Asad Telegram to Honecker E 5
        [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 24 Apr]
    Economic Accords; Departure E 5
Stoph, Marjai Exchange Views on Economic Ties E 6
Honecker's Condolences on Bomb Attack in Angola E 6
    Telegram to Dos Santos E 6
        [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 25 Apr]

Telegram to Castro [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 25 Apr] E 7
Briefs: Trade With FRG Increases E 7

## HUNGARY

Apro-Led Delegation Returns from Kuwait F 1
Szuros Meets With PCE Officials, Spanish Premier F 1
Budapest TV Discusses Church-State Relations F 2
MSZMP Official on Role, Direction of Propaganda [NEPSZABADSAG 21 Apr] F 14

## POLAND

Obodowski Interviewed on Cooperation With USSR [TRYBUNA LUDU 21/23 Apr] G 1
GDR's Weiss Visits To Plan Economic Coordination [ADN] G 3
Visit by Bulgarian TU Delegation to Gdansk G 3
  Agenda Reviewed G 3
  Talks With Jaruzelski G 4
  Delegation Departs G 4
Agreement Rescheduling Debt to Western Banks G 4
  Malec Outlines Accord G 4
  Eichler, Malec Interviewed G 5
  Bank Council Assesses Plan G 7
'Transcript' of Urban's 17 Apr Press Conference [RZECZPOSPOLITA 24 Apr] G 8
Urban on Propaganda, Press-Government Relations [GLOS SZCZECINSKI 9 Apr] G 11
Interior Official on Counterintelligence [TRYBUNA LUDU 19 Apr] G 16
Walesa Interviewed on Status of Solidarity [AFP] G 22
Imprisoned Opposition Figures Denied Visitors [AFP] G 22
Briefs: Jablonski Meets New Mongolian Envoy; Ambassador to Bangladesh; Cooperation With Korea G 23

## ROMANIA

UN Proposal on Code of Behavior Debated H 1
Defense Minister Cables DPRK Counterpart [SCINTEIA 25 Apr] H 1
Forestry, Industrial Units Receive Pay Hike H 1
Ceausescu Visits Bucharest Enterprises H 2

## YUGOSLAVIA

Soviet-U.S. Talks on 'Hot Line' Concluded I 1
Soviet Dissatisfaction With Reagan PRC Visit [Pesic in POLITIKA 26 Apr] I 1
Upcoming Arkhipov Visit to PRC Assessed [Sundic] I 2
U.S. Citizen Sentenced for Hostile Propaganda I 3
USSR-Egyptian Rapprochement; Prospects for U.S. [Sundic] I 4

Angolan Defense Minister, Delegation Depart I 5
Trade Union Delegation Concludes DPRK Visit I 5
Assembly Discusses Foreign Policy, Visits, Law I 5
Finance Secretary Stresses Bank Responsibility I 6
Spiljak Receives People's Technology Delegation I 6
[BORBA 20 Apr]

## CEMA SUMMIT: REASONS FOR DISAGREEMENT

AU281715 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Apr 84

[Text] In this newsreel feature we extensively discuss the reasons for disagreements among CEMA member-countries, the economic group of East European countries, on the eve of the forthcoming summit of this group which, after several postponements, will be held in Moscow in Mid-June. The feature has been prepared by Dragan Colovic.

[Begin recording] [Colovic] The reasons for disagreements among the CEMA member-countries must be sought, above all, in the differences in economic interests. These are a natural consequence of the dynamic economic development of this group, but also of the slow adaption to necessary changes imposed by this development. Hungary is among the harshest critics of relations in CEMA, because this country carries out one half of its foreign trade with other CEMA member-countries. Precisely for this reason it wants the machinery of CEMA cooperation to be modernized.

Here is a report from Budapest by Milos Corovic, TANJUG correspondent:

[Corovic] In the preparatory phase of the CEMA summit, the Hungarians have made several remarks about the original documents, among which first place certainly belongs to their striving that food and agricultural products in general be favored as a strategic premise in cooperation, and it is clear that they proceed from their own, very obvious interests. This means in practice that the prices of agricultural products would be coordinated with prices of other raw materials, fuel, and power, which would lead to a reduction of that gap in the terms of trade whose negative effect is now felt here not only in relation to the West, but also in relation to the CEMA member-countries. Regarding the cooperation mechanism itself, the Hungarians believe that it will gain in efficiency only if all the countries enter more boldly into reform undertakings, which would mean that instead of cooperation carrying the marks of dirigisme, enterprises themselves should be provided more free space for direct communication, and this means that under the new conditions, if they are realized, cooperation and specialization would forge wider roads for themselves. As it is, the Hungarians are feeling all the shortcomings of the methods of cooperation when Hungarian enterprises, with their freedom of movement which also entails the freedom of planning and the freedom of sales of their products, in most countries have to seek their partners in ministries and not in production organizations themselves.

[Colovic] The attempts by some CEMA member-countries to find a way out of their dissatisfaction by strengthening economic and financial links with countries outside the CEMA group appear to have failed to give the expected results, because their economic structure was not adapted to the economic contest imposed by the unsparing competition in the world market, especially in the circumstances of the economic crisis. Hence, the greater political pressure for seeking solutions in changing the division of labor within CEMA, which implies certain changes in relations but also the intensification of economies, primarily through an increase in the productivity of labor, which, by the way, is a major sore point the countries have with centralized planning.

It is certain, however, that cooperation with the rest of the world, and especially the West, will be further promoted. the GDR attaches considerable significance to the forthcoming summit in Moscow, although it does not publicly insist on its views, which differ from the views of some other CEMA member-countries which, despite the interests in economic interests, give primacy to the closeness of ranks of this group. Zdravko Ilic, TANJUG correspondent in Berlin, explains this in the following way:

[Ilic] During the latest CEMA session at the premier level last October, it was stressed in Berlin that greater efforts and greater results in a technological modernization of the economy, energy savings, and savings of raw materials, and similar things are necessary in the entire group. It was then shown that the GDR, as an industrially developed country with a very prominent position in CEMA, desires that its vital specific interests, or rather its national interests, be more pronounced and more respected. These interests are, above all, in an even more intensive continuation of economic and technological cooperation, not only with the FRG, but also with other Western countries and Japan, because this is an essential condition for realizing technological modernization, relatively dynamic economic growth, and along with this, a stable social order.

In this context it has been observed that official Berlin publicly expresses sympathies toward the positions of Hungary in striving for the specific national interests of the countries of this group to be realized through greater bilateral cooperation with Western industrialized countries. Since last fall when the said CEMA meeting was held here, Soviet nuclear missiles have been stationed, just as the American ones in the West have been, but during this period there occurred a noticeably expanded economic cooperation between the two Germanies and permission was granted for some 20,000 GDR citizens to move to the West. However, it must be borne in mind that official Berlin by no means wants to be conspicuous in CEMA by insisting on its national interests, but it will advocate them firmly in a suitable form, at the Moscow economic summit, which, according to unofficial information, should open on 12 June.

[Colovic] The insufficient unity of views on economic issues, which is more and more openly pointed out in some CEMA countries, has become so obvious that political factors will have to exert an extraordinary effort with a view to straightening out the existing misunderstandings in the least painful way, and thus eliminating the difficulties standing in the way of a more united stand and togetherness of this group vis-a-vis the rest of the world, especially the West. It is interesting to hear how Moscow views the upcoming summit. Bogoljub Lacmanovic, VJESNIK Moscow correspondent, reports:

[Lacmanovic] The Kremlin's official confirmation that after a gap of 13 years, the economic summit of the Eastern ten will be held in Moscow during the middle of June is causing many commentaries. While the West talks about the deep crisis shaking CEMA, Moscow refutes this with statements that economic relations and mechanisms within the socialist economic community are good and they should only be improved. The only thing [words indistinct], and a few illustrations are sufficient to understand the situation.

A resolution demand for holding a meeting of heads of parties and states of the 10 countries was submitted 2 years ago by Romania, which was discontented with the distribution of Soviet energy. When these demands were joined by Hungary, which was dicontented with economic mechanisms in CEMA, Moscow oould no longer reject Ceausescu's demands. The settling of internal accounts had begun, and the summit was not held last year only because of the illness of at that time Soviet leader Yuriy Andropov.

There are two basic issues which shake CEMA, and to which the summit should provide answers: One is the distribution of Soviet energy, the other is the distribution of food, of which there is a shortage in the Soviet Union.

The USSR now covers between 80 and 95 percent of the energy requirements of several East European states, and Moscow believes that its allies should conserve more. On the other hand, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania object to the low food prices. Hungary is the most vociferous advocate of CEMA member-countries cooperating with the Western world with more independence. Moscow is not enthusiastic about this, and uses Poland's debt and fate as an argument.

The dollar debt of the East European countries is now estimated at close to $60 billion, and the largest debtors after Poland are Romania and Hungary. The USSR is in favor of greater integration within CEMA and greater economic independence of the Eastern bloc from the West, but such enclosure could lead to technological lagging of East European countries; therefore, the forthcoming summit will certainly adopt some corrections to present economic mechanisms within CEMA and undoubtedly establish a clearer CEMA strategy toward the West.

[Colovic] The need for coordination of relations within CEMA is obvious, but is not simple to achieve. What is involved, we have heard, are very sensitive economic issues, which deeply impinge on the interests of the several countries and peoples of East Europe. There is no doubt however, that along with the more and more open discussions of the economic problems, those political tendencies to maintain, that is, to not damage the monolithic nature of the community will strengthen. This will be manifested more and more in the coming days and weeks, especially on the eve of and during the summit. In this way, in fact, one wants to give the economic disagreements of the moment such a place and significance that other issues will not be pushed into the background. The issue of strengthening the political and defense system of the Warsaw Pact countries, considering the present international situation, still remains at the center of attention. [end recording]

## ATTEMPTS TO SOW GRUDGE INTO CEMA WILL FAIL

AU271112 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Apr 84 p 6

[Boris Latta commentary: "An Unpostponable Demand of the Times"]

[Text] Exactly 35 years ago representatives of CEMA member-countries convened for their first session in the capital of the Soviet Union. The resolution of the Moscow session specified the goals, principles, and organizational forms of the activity of CEMA, an economic association of a new type.

The highest CEMA body is the session of representatives at the level of the heads of government of the socialist community's member-countries, which takes place annually, in each of the member-countries in succession. At the request, or with the approval of, at least one-third of CEMA members, it is possible to convene extraordinary sessions. In a special category are summit meetings, which discuss questions of principle concerning socioeconomic and scientific-technological cooperation and determine the main directions of further activity. Such will also be the nature of the forthcoming session, which will take place in Moscow in June.

The first CEMA session (26 to 30 April 1949) laid the foundations of the economic organization, which was a prerequisite of deepening economic cooperation within the framework of the socialist community. The founding of CEMA made it possible for the member-countries to face up in a coordinated fashion to discriminatory pressures of capitalist states. From the very beginning of CEMA activity, mutual cooperation within its framework has been effected on the basis of mutually advantageous and equitable relations. These and other principles were enshrined by the interested parties in the statutes that were approved at the 12th CEMA session in Sofia in 1959. Socialist internationalism; respect for the sovereignty, independence, and national interests of individual countries; noninterference in internal affairs; full equality of member-states; mutual advantageousness of cooperation; and comradely assistance -- these are the permanent chief attributes in CEMA's activity.

The founding members of CEMA -- the Bulgarian People's Republic, the CSSR, the Hungarian People's Republic, PPR, the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the USSR -- were gradually joined by other countries: The GDR in 1950, the Mongolian People's Republic in 1962, Cuba in 1972, and the SRV in 1978. Since 1964 Yugoslavia has been taking part in the work of some CEMA agencies and its contribution to cooperation is growing year after year.

The claims of some bourgeois politicians and economists in capitalist countries to the effect that CEMA member-countries are sealing themselves off from the rest of the world, that they dissociate themselves from cooperation with countries that have a different social system, have been refuted by the agreements that CEMA concluded with Finland (1973), Iraq (1975), and Mexico (1975). An agreement with Nicaragua is now being prepared, to say nothing of the status of observers at CEMA sessions that is held by Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Laos, and Mozambique. According to the statutes, CEMA is not a closed organization and any country that will fulfill CEMA statutes may become a member.

Since the first seassion of CEMA, member-countries have passed through several stages of cooperation, from the initial exchange of goods down to the present and expanding direct cooperation and specialization at all levels of management and production. It is necessary to continue this trend and to reach a qualitatively new level of cooperation, the need for which is objectively accentuated by the evolutionary inevitability of the economies' transition from an extensive to an intensive method of running the economy. The final documents of the last congresses of communist and workers parties in the countries of the socialist community underlined in this connection the significance and importance of expanding and deepening socialist international economic integration as an essential means of raising the effectiveness of social production in the entire world system of socialism.

The activity of CEMA member-countries does not always proceed in a straightforward way, without problems caused by objective, but also subjective factors. This is understandable. The socialist countries cannot learn from the experiences of others, they do not have any predecessors. They are "pioneers" in their work. However, even the, at first glance, most complicated problems that everyday life places before them cannot weaken their determination to continue to proceed along the mapped-out path. Nor can this determination be weakened by the attempts of imperialist propaganda to cast doubt on the activity of CEMA, to belittle the results achieved, and to introduce into the mutual relations of socialist countries the shadow of mistrust or even grudge.

Exactly 3 decades have passed since the memorable first session of CEMA. The world socialist system has grown in strength in these three decades and the relations of political, economic, and scientific-technological cooperation have comprehensively developed and intensified. These relations result in increasingly purposeful, dynamic, profound, comprehensive, and effective socialist international economic integration. And this is the precise aim that is being pursued with increasing purposefulness by the joint endeavor of CEMA member-countries.

## FISCHER ON MISSILES IN GDR, EAST-WEST RELATIONS

AU271755 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1615 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Today GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer concludes a 2-day official visit to Vienna. Following talks with Foreign Minister Erwin Lanc and Chancellor Fred Sinowatz he conducted talks today with Austrian Parliament members. On this occasion the guest from Berlin also commented on the most recent wave of people leaving the GDR and laconically noted: Emigration has been permitted for many years and has been a practice since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Fischer's visit ends today and the Austrian side is satisfied with the outcome of the visit.

Friedrich Orter [Austrian Radio correspondent] sums up today's events as follows:

[Begin recording] [Orter] East-West relations were one of the topics which GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer discussed during the meetings with his interlocutors at Vienna's Ballhaus Square. Soviet tactical-operational nuclear missiles are now deployed, and have been ready for action on GDR territory since the beginning of this year. They were stationed there as a countermeasure to NATO's complementary armament. This is what the guest from East Berlin had to say about this:

[Fischer] I proceed from the great strain to which international relations are subjected, a strain which was caused by the stationing of missiles in Eastern Europe [as heard] which has begun, and I harbor the firm conviction and opinion that one must return to the situation existing last fall in order to be able to take steps to detente.

[Orter] This means in plain text: The GDR foreign minister reiterates the position of the Warsaw Pact states that the United States must remove from Western Europe its missiles which were deployed there last fall. In the bilateral sphere both sides see opportunities for a further development of relations. Asked whether this visit has conveyed a new impetus to the climate of talks between Vienna and East Berlin, Minister Fischer stated:

[Fischer] I do not know what you mean by impetus nor do I know whether you expect something extraordinarily sensational. But if you are asking me in this way, I would say that the sensational or special feature in bilateral relations lies in the fact that we are maintaining a high degree of continuity in these relations, which in turn is based on confidence. And under such conditions the relations can be well cultivated, and we are taking one step after another forward, by setting one foot ahead of the other.

[Orter] And thus two specific results were achieved during the visit: Austrians shall pay no visa fees in the future when traveling to the GDR for economic, scientific, cultural, or sports reasons, or on official trips, the Austrian Parliament will deal with the required amendments to the law on consular and other fees in the coming few months; and, second, travelers on transit landing at East Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport may expect that processing in the future may be made easier. [end recording]

## NONALIGNED GROUP PROPOSES ATHENS FINAL DOCUMENT

LD281204 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0905 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Athens, April 28, (TANJUG) -- Seven neutral and non-aligned European countries have submitted a joint proposal for the final document at the Athens C.S.C.E. meeting on peaceful settlements to disputes.

The initiative has been launched by the representatives of Yugoslavia, Austria, Cyprus, Switzerland, Sweden, Finland and Liechtenstein, on behalf of the neutral and non-aligned countries, in view of the fact that the eastern and western countries bloc-oriented countries have not succeeded in reaching consensus on adopting even one of the five proposals submitted to date.

The neutral and non-aligned countries' proposal regards the joint final document -- a report on methods and means for the peaceful settlement of disputes. The proposal envisages that in the event that two or more states are unable to agree on how to settle a dispute, a group of impartial persons would submit suggestions and recommendations -- the application of which is not compulsory -- on methods of surmounting and solving disputed issues.

The Eastern European countries call for the application of the principle of consultation, virtually bilateral talks between states which have issues in dispute. The Western countries insist the settlement of disputes by arbitration, if bilateral contacts do not succeed in reaching a satisfactory conclusion.

The neutral and non-aligned countries' proposal will now be discussed by the participants at the Athens meeting - experts from 33 European countries, the United States, and Canada - and a decision is expected to be reached by Monday April 30 at the latest, when the meeting, which has continued without interruption since March 21, closes. The report on the Athens session, as agreed in Madrid, will be submitted to the Vienna C.S.C.E. meeting in 1986.

## SPD'S DISARMAMENT EXPERT: HALT DEPLOYMENT

LD271750 Hamburg DPA in German 1522 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Prague, 27 Apr (DPA) -- SPD disarmament expert Egon Bahr appealed today to East and West to halt the missiles deployment. "The later this takes place, the more irrational become the demands to reduce the existing missiles," Bahr stressed in a press briefing in Prague. He pointed out that "missiles are not just weapons of attack but also targets."

"Small states such as the CSSR, the GDR, and also the Federal Republic, which must be regarded as small states in terms of arms, are increasingly turning into the hostages of the superpowers," Bahr said. They must "do their utmost to keep the superpowers out of nuclear adventures."

In his talks in Prague, as in the GDR, he said he found "no enthusiasm" for the missiles deployment. "That is obvious," Bahr said. "Only madmen could want missiles, and here people are normal."

Bahr met with Central Committee secretary Vasil Bilak again today, who held a dinner for him. Bahr returns to the Federal Republic tomorrow.

## HELICOPTER INCIDENT: U.S. ADVENTUROUS POLICY

LD280815 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] RUDE PRAVO has devoted its foreign commentary today, carried under the headline, A Risky Game, to the violation of the Czechoslovak airspace by a United States Army helicopter, which occured on 20 April. The paper says that in reply to the protest lodged by the Czechoslovak Government a Pentagon spokesman tried to present the American Army pilots as inexperienced beginners, who allegedly did not follow the map and therefore did not know that they had violated the borders. RUDE PRAVO stresses that the aim of such a ridiculous claim is to divest themselves of the responsibility for this provocation and points out that this is also borne out by the entire line of action taken by the American military authorities in this matter. The fact is that at first they claimed that no violation of the Czechoslovak airspace had occured at all and admitted this fact only after confronted with direct witnesses from among the West German population. RUDE PRAVO writes that our protest has seemingly put a full stop to the entire matter. It has, however, been shown that this has not been the case. The fact is that in his last Thursday's statement, the American spokesman once again outrageously attacked Czechoslovakia for permitting herself to thwart the provocation. The West German border police itself has, however, denied that the helicopter was attacked by two Czechoslovak fighter planes without warning. RUDE PRAVO writes that it is apparent that it is not enough for the American side that it has provoked a frontier incident, but that moreover it wants dubious anti-Czechoslovak capital out of it. The American Army apparently does not like the fact that it cannot behave in Central Europe as it does, for instance, in Central America.

The paper goes on to point out that in a situation when new American nuclear missiles are being deployed in the immediate vicinity of our borders the causing of similar incidents is a risky game. The entire affair also bears out what is the real thinking behind the United States' officially declared willingness to engage in a dialogue. In reality, their adventurous policy continues to be the same and this also applies to their attempts at the arrogant great-power violation of the norms of relations between sovereign states.

In conclusion, RUDE PRAVO stresses that all those who organize similar provocations must reckon that they will meet a resolute opposition.

### Violation Previously Planned

LD280732 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] It was revealed in Washington today that the gross violation of Czechoslovak airspace by the U.S. helicopter that took place on 20 April was a previously planned provocation. The Washington representative admitted that the crew of the helicopter had been warned on time by air traffic controllers in the FRG. The U. S. military administration originally denied the incident. The Pentagon version from 26 April spoke about carelessness on the pilot's part.

## REAGAN'S PRC TRIP, USSR-PRC RELATIONS EXAMINED

LD292122 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1030 GMT 29 Apr 84

[Michal Berko commentary]

[Excerpt] Esteemed listeners: The sensitive barometer of the world public recorded during the past week is one of further surprises.

Since taking up the office of president, Ronald Reagan has been warning the whole world against the evil danger of communism, and above all against the Soviet Union and the threat it allegedly poses to the world. This is why many foreign political observers in bourgeois newspapers both in the West and Japan are having a great deal to do to explain why the White House chief, who rails so much against communism, is now courting favor in China, as one Western journalist put it, in a country which is the most populous communist country in the world. Those who have been taking a sober look at current Washington policy are merely shaking their heads and asking themselves whether Ronald Reagan and those closest to him genuinely think that they will be able to blind the eyes of the world by this costly visit, behind which they all see Ronald Reagan's preelection campaign, however. After all, the 300 journalists accompanying him have been carefully selected and instructed by the Reagan staff on how and what they are to write. The script was perfect to show the American President, after many foreign political debacles, as a capable politician.

However, the Chinese leadership has now let it be known to the head of the American state where the limits of their common interests lie. Zhao Ziyang, chairman of the State Council, apparently soiled the scenario of Ronald Reagan's trip in his speech on Friday when he made it manifestly clear that Beijing is in favor of halting any further deployment of American missiles in Western Europe, which would lead to the halting of retaliatory measures on the part of the Warsaw Pact countries and thereby to the reopening of Soviet-American talks. Likewise, Beijing does not agree with the U.S. policy toward the countries of Central America, and demands the recognition of the Palestinian people's rights and talks with the PLO.

Concerning Soviet-Chinese relations, Zhao Ziyang, chairman of the State Council, made it absolutely clear to the American President that Beijing is interested in the continuation of the normalization of relations with the Soviet Union and not the opposite. This is also borne out by the fact that Ivan Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, is to visit Beijing for further talks between 10 and 20 May. As the Austrian newspaper ARBEITER ZEITUNG has written, Beijing apparently no longer wants to be a trump card in Washington's anti-Soviet game, and Reagan's visit will change nothing in this. The paper then goes on to say that no reliable observer today no longer entertains dreams about some kind of strategic cooperation between China and the United States against the Soviet Union. According to the quoted words of Zhao Ziyang, chairman of the State Council, this is unlikely to happen.

One needs, however, to say that on many issues Chinese attitudes continue to be unjustifiable and contentious, to say the least. This concerns, above all, accusations against Vietnam, Kampuchea, and the silence about the presence of American soldiers in South Korea and stands taken toward Afghanistan. Despite this, however, it is possible to say that different viewpoints on some problems are beginning to appear in the Chinese policy, with which Washington apparently did not reckon when arranging the American President's trip. It will be interesting to see how the above-mentioned 300 journalists explain to the American electorate, for instance, the criticism of Reagan's policy of nuclear arms buildup. Now it is no longer only Moscow, Prague, and Berlin, and many other governments and countries that have been pointing at the danger of such a policy.

A West German Social Democratic politician, Erhard Eppler, has described President Reagan's administration as the most irresponsible government in the 200 years of United States' existence. Its policy, he said, is a mixture of technocratic conceit and arrogance, ideological blindness, and ignoring realities. These are not flattering words, and I am not quoting them in order to confirm the correctness of our criticism of the American foreign policy line.

They illustrate rather more the marked change in the attitudes of some bourgeois politicians of the West European countries to American theories and the practice of nuclear arms buildup and the political concepts that follow them. They speak for all commentaries about the anxieties and recognition that American nuclear weapons have nothing in common with the question of European security, that they are rather the result of cynical calculation of the most aggressive circles of American imperialism of how to keep Western Europe as a hostage and a tool to provoke instability and tension whenever it would suit them until the end of the second millenium. This is why evidence is growing that testifies to the continuing reassessment of American policy in the countries of Western Europe. Attitudes, views, intentions, and reality are being confronted; aims and means of achieving them are being compared with the outcome. To put it graphically, spring cleaning is being carried out in these relations. It is apparent that West Europe is keeping an ever more manifest distance from the military path along which, according to the American President, not only the American but also many other nations are to proceed.

The important commentator of the NOVOSTI Soviet press agency, Spartak Beglov, pointed in connection with Ronald Reagan's Beijing trip to its geopolitical aim: to detach the socialist countries from the developing countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Does this American proclamation not look conspicuously like the arguments about the necessity of deploying new American missiles in Western Europe? Is the issue exercising American monopolies not in reality that of achieving domination over new, long-term future areas of raw material sources, the export of capital, markets, and the sources of profits, for instance in the Pacific region? How can one otherwise understand the haughtiness and expressions of superiority used by a section of the American press in talking about the decline of Western Europe, about the declining importance of Europe not only from a political viewpoint but also from the viewpoints of long-term prospects for economic development in the world? For instance, according to the NEWSWEEK magazine, Europe, that is Western Europe, does not possess raw material resources, lacks technology, is in the throes of social conflicts, is willing to cooperate with the Russians, rejects United States' protection, and is losing the ability to make sacrifices -- in other words, to go along the path of the militarization of their economies at the expense of the population and regardless of all agreements that were concluded in the recent past during the period of detente.

What a difference from the policy of the socialist countries, from their urgent call for realism, cooperation, respecting legitimate interests in the questions of security, from their call for a turn at last on the basis of relaxation in relations between East and West, in the talks in Vienna, Geneva, and Stockholm!

## SOCIALIST, U.S. FOREIGN POLICIES CONTRASTED

LD291215 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0730 GMT 29 Apr 84

[Excerpts] Today's foreign political commentary is by Zdenek Vilimek: Even though we are prepared to approach any problems of international life constructively and with a willingness to talk -- no matter how complicated -- unfortunately, we also have to confront provocation and steps lacking even the smallest amount of political consideration.

Our government's protest against the violation of Czechoslovak airspace by an American military helicopter was conveyed to the United States. American spying activity against our territory is particularly intense. The pirate flight itself and the American reaction -- which is difficult to understand -- to a wholly justified step by our fighter planes only proves what a dangerous situation exists in Europe now, as a result of NATO's increasing aggression.

It is known that unexpected air strikes against socialist countries are a part of the Pentagon's military doctrine, and it is of exceptional concern that the United States causes such incidents -- a similar one took place a few weeks ago over the territory of the GDR -- precisely now, when the installation of new American first strike weapons is taking place near our borders.

Provocation and an attempt to disrupt the world balance, are also the main characteristics of the current week-long state visit by the American President, Ronald Reagan, to China. Although it is clear that a number of Reagan's statements and the (?speeches) still to come during the visit are directed more at the American voter than the Chinese leadership, it is also true that the President's photographs taken on the China Wall by the 400 reporters who are accompanying Reagan will have undeniable significance in the election campaign. In spite of this, it would not be right to see Reagan's Chinese visit as only an election show [rendered in English]. The so-called Chinese card, that is, the possibility of dragging Beijing into an attack on the Soviet Union, was very tempting even for previous American governments. One should not doubt, therefore, that President Reagan will also do everything to influence the Chinese leadership insofar as possible in an anti-Soviet way, with the help of promises of economic cooperation. After all, it is well known that Reagan is making every effort to create a military alliance in the Pacific aimed precisely against the Soviet Union. His words that the future will be decided in the area of the Pacific among the nations on both its shores are very telling in this context.

On the other hand, Chinese-American relations are far from idyllic. The mutual disillusionment, quote, unquote, which did not survive the Carter era, continues. [as heard] On top of that, Reagan's earlier impertinent anti-Chinese attacks and continuing American support for Taiwan add bitterness to the ruins. Both sides taking part also have superpower aspirations in Asia, and so, any form of American-Chinese rapprochement is, as always, [word indistinct] a fog of question marks. Chinese interest in American weapons, or in the technology of the F-16 aircraft, however, does not bode well. It was agreed that in June, Chinese Defense Minister Zhang Aiping will again visit the United States, so that he can talk in detail about military cooperation. As has been said already, this is also a clear manifestation of the effort to disrupt the balance of power in the world. Luckily, centuries have shown that friendships based only on atagonism against a third party, are in fact no friendship at all, and therefore do not last long or are worth much.

And so this week two policies faced one another: ours which seeks that which joins nations and strengthens world peace, and the policy of the other side which in the spirit of old practices attempts to divide the world so that it can rule.

## FRG'S EGON BAHR INTERVIEWED ON EUROPEAN SECURITY

LD272120 Prague CTK in English 1935 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Prague, [no date as received] (CTK) -- The talks in Prague resulted in agreement on the most urgent political problem of the present -- the maintenance of peace, Presidium member of the West German Social Democratic Party Egon Bahr told CTK at the close of his visit to Czechoslovakia. Egon Bahr arrived in Czechoslovakia on April 25 at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. He met with Presidium member and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Vasil Bilak and member of the party Central Committee and Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek. Egon Bahr said that these have been his first talks about European security in Prague since 1967.

He stated that the discussions concentrated on the situation at the Vienna disarmament talks, the Stockholm conference and the Geneva conference on a ban on chemical weapons, and showed agreement on numerous issues. Egon Bahr appreciated detailed information about the communique from the Budapest session of the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers which was given here to him.

The SPD politician said that the current international situation is extremely difficult due to the deployment of missiles which caused the escalation of tension. He also called for a freeze of nuclear weapons and stressed that security in international relations is indivisible. At the time when the two sides could totally destroy each other, there is no otherpossibility to ensure one's security without harming the other side, but in mutual cooperation, Egon Bahr said. Dealing with the response of the socialist countries' supreme representatives to the message of the Socialist Internatinal, Egon Bahr stressed that it is a proof of the concern over the present situation in the world. At the same time, it shows their readiness to cooperate in these issues with the Socialist International. Answering the question about the prospects of cooperation between the Communist and Social Democratic Parties, Egon Bahr said: "The essential differences in views and different ideologies cannot prevent cooperation in the most urgent issue, the preservation of peace. None of the differences is deep enough to wreck the joint efforts to maintain peace."

## ALGERIAN PRESIDENT ENDS VISIT, DEPARTS

LD281754 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Chadli Bendjedid, president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and general secretary of the National Liberation Front [FLN], ended his official and friendly visit to Czechoslovakia today. A closing meeting between Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, and the highest Algerian representative took place at Prague Castle this afternoon. Final talks between the Czechoslovak and Algerian delegations then took place. The two highest representatives highly valued the results of the visit of Chadli Bendjedid to Czechoslovakia, and the joint talks which confirmed the political will and (?complete) interest of both sides to continue in all-round political cooperation and to continue to strongly intensify mainly economic and scientific and technical cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Algeria.

Shortly after 1600, Chadli Bendjedid, president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and general secretary of the FLN Party, and his delegation left Chechoslovakia. The guests were seen off at Ruzyne Airport by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, and other members of the party's Central Committee Presidium, Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal, Vasil Bilak, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kampny, Josef Korcak, and other representatives.

## ARRIVAL OF FOREIGN DELEGATIONS FOR MAY DAY

LD292003 Prague CTK in English 1818 GMT 29 Apr 84

[Text] Prague, [no date as received] -- Representatives of trade union organizations from almost twenty European, Asian, African, and Latin American countries who will attend May Day celebrations here met to discuss ways of intensifying the peace efforts of trade unions. Viliam Kozik, secretary of the Central Council of Czechoslovak trade unions, stressed the role of trade unions as the largest organizations of working people in efforts to strengthen peace and avert nuclear war. Trade unionists from the Soviet Union, Cuba, Mozambique, Syria, Vietnam, and other countries condemned at the meeting the policy of the most reactionary circles of imperialism, and appreciated the peace initiatives of the countries of the socialist community.

## JOINT DECLARATION ON 40TH LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY

AU250900 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Apr 84 pp 1-2

["Declaration of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front, and the CSSR Government on the 40th Anniversary of the Culmination of the National Liberation Struggle of the Czechoslovak People and of the Liberation of our Fatherland by the Soviet Army"]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens, comrades, friends: This year we enter the stage of the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people against Hitlerite fascism and of the gradual liberation of the territory of our fatherland by the glorious Soviet Army.

The Slovak national uprising and the May uprising of the Czech people belong among the most memorable landmarks in the modern history of our peoples. On 9 May 1945 -- the day on which Marshal Konev's tanks entered fighting Prague and saved it from destruction, the day on which war ended on the European Continent, and which progressive people throughout the entire world commemorate as victory day -- the Czech and Slovak peoples entered "a new, and thus far, the brightest era of their history, an era of genuine national freedom and independence, the era of the government of the poeple and of free work of the people's masses, the era of the building of socialism" (Klement Gottwald).

The ideals from which our freedom and socialist present have grown are a living heritage that continues to give us strength and determination in our everyday effort for the all-round development of socialism, for the flourishing of our fatherland. The struggle against fascism, which was full of sacrifices, and the struggle for a new, just social system have produced the proper results. Today the CSSR is a mature, dynamically developing state managed by the working people. It is a free home of equal national and nationalities who live and work peacefully on its territory. It is a firm component part of the socialist community, of the forces of peace and progress.

The bloodiest war to date in the history of mankind ended in 1949. It lasted 6 years, dragged four-fifths of the inhabitants of our planet into its destructive vortex, and involved 40 states. The responsibility for unleashing it, for the death of more than 50 million people as well as for the immense suffering which it produced, falls on imperialism. Its most reactionary forces -- the fascist states headed by Hitlerite Germany -- shamelessly proclaimed aggressive plans and openly, cynically threatened to exterminate entire races and peoples. Unfortunately, the other imperialist powers did not offer any resistance to them. Quite the contrary, they expected to succeed in destroying the Soviet Union with the help of fascism and to halt the revolutionary development in the world.

Czechoslovakia was one of the first few victims of the policy of making compacts with the aggressions, a policy the disgraceful symbol of which became Munich. However, yielding to the aggressors and sacrificing Czechoslovakia did not only fail to secure peace, but soon resulted in the unleashing of war. As is well known, the fascist hordes subjugated almost all of Europe in a relatively short time.

A change only began after Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union. In battles which are without precedent in history -- near Moscow, Stalingrad, in the Kursk Bulge [obluk] -- the Soviet Army crushed the attacking force of the fascist Wehrmacht and thus decided the outcome of the war and the future of all mankind. The legendary victorious advance ended with the conquest of Berlin. The red banner flew over the Reichstag Building on 30 April 1945.

The heroism displayed by the Soviet people in the Great Fatherland War will never fade from generations' memories. Lead by the CPSU and inspired by the ideas of the Great October, socialist patriotism, and internationalism, the Soviet people rose in defense of their fatherland without hesitation. Twenty million Soviet citizens died in this barbarous war. With the immense sacrifices which the Soviet people made in the life and death struggle against the fascist intruders, they bought not only the freedom of their own country, but that of the peoples of other countries.

The defeat of fascism was the joint achievement of all the freedom-loving peoples who rose up to oppose it. During the war an anti-Hitler coalition emerged in which states with different social systems joined. This had a favorable impact on the course and outcome of the war. However, it was the Soviet Union which bore the brunt of the war and which had a decisive share in the victory over fascism.

The Czechoslovak people, who never tolerated the Nazi slavery, also made an honorable contribution to defeating fascism. From the very first days of the Hitler occupation they resisted the fascists and fought against the foreign oppressions. The finest sons and daughters of our peoples stood on the fronts of World War II, in partisan brigades and underground organizations and suffered and died in the concentration camps and Nazi prisons.

Hundreds of thousands of people from all social strata, genuine partiots who were linked by the yearning for freedom, did not hesitate to sacrifice their lives in this struggle. The Communists were the most active and most consistent strugglers against the fascist occupiers. They were among those people who were exposed to the most brutal terror and persecution.

The Communists consistently combined the national liberation struggle with the fight for the social liberation of the working people. Their illegal activities were guided by the party leadership abroad with Klement Gottwald at the head. They strove to channel the antifascist resistance into an armed uprising which would lead to the establishment of a truly Czechoslovak state of the people. They strove to unite all the patriotic forces in a broad national front for this purpose.

The authority of the Community Party was also strengthened by its foreign policy orientation, which linked the prospects of the antifascist struggle and the future of our state with the alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union. It became more and more obvious during the war that liberation would come from the East, and that it would be the Soviet state which would guarantee our state's freedom as well as favorable conditions for our working people in order to be able to decide themselves on their life in the liberated state. The conclusion of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance, and Postwar Cooperation of 12 December 1943 was a legitimate expression of this development.

The liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people gradually developed into a national and democratic revolution which began with the Slovak national uprising.

The Slovak national uprising, which broke out on 29 August 1944, was one of the most powerful antifascist actions in Europe and one of the most glorious chapters in our modern history. The CPSL, one of the prominent representatives of which was Comrade Gustav Husak, was the decisive political force of this uprising. Of immense importance for the future of our state was the fact that the Slovak national uprising unambiguously proclaimed on the liberated territory the establishment of a new Czechoslovak republic as a state with two fraternal, equal peoples, the Czechs and the Slovaks, a state which would be genuinely democratic and would rely on the Soviet Union.

The Slovak national uprising made possible revolutionary transformations which became the model and beginning of the revolutionary changes on the territory gradually liberated by the Soviet Army.

The members of the first Czechoslovak Army Corps and their commander, General Ludvik Svoboda, wrote unforgettable chapters in the history of the liberation struggle of our peoples. The Carpathian-Dukla operation is one of the glorious battles in which both our and Soviet soldiers jointly shed their blood. Dukla has become a symbol of the friendship between our and the Soviet people. We commemorate 6 October 1944, the day on which soldiers of the two armies entered Czechoslovak soil, as Czechoslovak People's Army Day.

The struggle for the new Czechoslovakia culminated in the spring of 1945. In March 1945 talks were conducted in Moscow between the CPCZ leadership abroad, representatives of the London emigres, and a delegation of the Slovak National Council on a government program and the forming of a new government. This program was proclaimed by the government of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks on 5 April 1945 in Kosice. This program incorporated the gains of the national and democratic revolution and it was on its basis, primarily through the national committees, that the broad strata of people of our two fraternal nations were able to take the administration of their state affairs into their own hands.

The May uprising of the Czech people was the conclusion of the national liberation struggle in our fatherland.

This uprising was the climax of the 6 years of resistance which the Czech patriots had offered to the fascist occupiers in the most varied forms. The armed struggle relied on partisan groups, resistance organizations in the factories, illegal revolutionary national committees, and the massive support of broad strata of the population. Prague became the most important center of the uprising, in whose streets up to 1,500 barricades were erected on 5 May 1945. It was the most courageous residents of the capital and its surrounding area who took up a stand behind them against superior forces. The Soviet Army brought final victory to our people by liberating Prague. The unprecedented massive heroism of the Soviet people and the victorious advance of their armies demonstrated to the entire world the advantages of socialism. This immensely enhanced the authority of the first socialist country as well as the prestige of its socialist system and humanist ideology, Marxism-Leninism. A new relationship of forces developed between socialism and capitalism as a result of the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism which put an end to World War II. Socialism began to emerge as a world system. The national-liberation struggle touched off an extensive anti-imperialist movement. The gradual disintegration of colonialism began.

From the first few days of their free, peaceful life, the Czechoslovak people began to enthusiastically reconstruct their war-destroyed economy and to build the foundations of the people's democratic state. They learned from historical experience and decided to follow a course leading to socialism.

However, the bourgeoisie did not want to put up with the developments which brought the people to power, and strove for a return to the conditions of pre-Munich Czechoslovakia. The struggle for a people's character of the new state and for guarantees ensuring that the gains won by the working people in the national and democratic revolution would be preserved and could be further developed through socialist changes was finally decided in February 1948. The road toward building the socialist society was fully opened up by the defeat of the counterrevolutionary conspiracy of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the workers class.

The Communist Party once more proved its loyalty to the workers class and its determination and principled attitude in defending the interests of broad strata of people, of our nations.

We are able to note with pride that we have accomplished far-reaching revolutionary changes in our fatherland in the 40 years that have elapsed since the liberation. They are fulfilling the historical dreams of entire generations of fighters who fought for a just arrangement of society. Socialism has forever eliminated the exploitation of man in our country and has established true democracy.

The CSSR possesses a powerful economic and intellectual potential. Today socialist industry manufactures in less than one month more products than the pre-Munich republic produced in an entire year. The socialist industrialization of Slovakia, whose industrial output has increased 27 times compared with 1948, has yielded particularly marked results. Life in our countryside has basically changed by building up cooperative, socialist large-scale production. Agricultural production is 50 percent higher than before the war, even though less than one-third of the people are working in it compared with that time. National income has increased six times compared with 1937. The citizens' living standard is characterized by a relatively high personal and, above all, social consumption which is 8 times higher than in 1948. Our health service, education, and cultural-enlightenment system are among the most highly developed in the world. Our state creates the required conditions for women's equal rights, for the comprehensive development of the young generation, and for ensuring a peaceful old age. It has devoted vast means to apartment construction. Care for man's well-being is central to the attention of the Communist Party, the socialist state, and the entire National Front.

The fact that the socialist societal system not only proclaims the rights of the citizens, but actually ensures them proves its profound democratic nature and humanism. This sharply contrasts with the hopelessness and despair to which broad strata of working people and particularly youth are doomed in the capitalist world. The complex of civic rights guaranteed by the socialist state constitutes a firm basis of guarantees for our working man.

The historical achievements of socialist construction include the solving of the question of nationalities, which was concluded with the federal arrangement of the state. The CSSR is the common fatherland of truly equal nations and nationalities living on its territory. The relations between them are based on mutual confidence and respect, on fraternal living together and cooperation. Socialism has irreversibly eliminated from our society both social oppression and any type of racial or national discrimination. These are values which we are particularly dutybound to defend.

The successes which we have achieved in the construction of socialism in Czechoslovakia are the result of the selfless and creative work of the people, of the policy of the CPCZ and of the entire National Front. In solving the complex problems of the construction of the new society we have based, and are basing our activity on Marxist-Leninist theory and on its creative application to the conditions of our country. In doing so we have had the benefit of the help and experiences of the Soviet Union and have relied on the all-round cooperation with it and with other socialist countries.

We have had to overcome considerable obstacles along the course leading to socialism. This course was realized in a sharp social struggle against the reactionary forces, both domestic and foreign. There have also been serious errors and tragic mistakes. We have overcome the difficulties and have gradually put mistakes right. The party and society passed through the most difficult times in the late sixties when it was necessary to defy the attacks of counterrevolutionary forces which threatened the very foundations of socialism.

It was with the assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries that the plans of foreign and domestic reaction for the liquidation of socialism in our country and for weakening its positions in the world were foiled. The April session of the CPCZ Central Committee held in 1969 was of a historical importance for the further fate of socialism in our country and for its all-round development.

The endeavor of society, Communists and members of other political parties, and of the entire National Front is focused on the implementation of the general line of building an advanced socialist society, which was laid down by the 16th CPCZ Congress. The program of the 16th CPCZ Congress, with which the organizations of the National Front fully identify, expresses the substantial interests of all working people and corresponds to the needs of the development of our society. It is a program of our country's further economic and social development, a program of deepening socialist democracy, further ensuring the high living and cultural standards of the population, and shaping a new man in the spirit of socialist ideals. Its main goal is a happy life and peaceful work of our people.

In assessing the implementation of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress, we can say that the overall balance sheet of our work is positive. In view of the developments in the world in the past few years and because of the exacting nature of the tasks we are setting ourselves, it has not been easy to further develop the national economy. The successful fulfillment of last year's plan has established prerequisities for more rapid growth in the concluding years of the 5-year plan and thus for an overall fulfillment of tasks in line with the targets of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

However, we are well aware that in the interest of the further development of our socialist society, we must still more determinedly eliminate shortcomings that still trouble us, be irreconcilable to any manifestations of indifference and formalism, and demand from all -- from top to bottom -- the most responsible attitude toward duties and tasks. It is necessary to further improve the system of national economic planning and management and to reinforce civil and work discipline as well as socialist legality and order.

The principle is and will continue to be valid that -- as we work, so shall we live! Only dedicated and conscientious work will enable us to create values, on the basis of which we will be able to maintain and improve the high material and cultural standards of the people, raise our defense capability, and contribute to the preservation of peace. This is the joint concern and shared interest of all of us, of every citizen.

The development of the economy -- which is the foundation of our wealth, both social and personal -- depends on the growth of the productivity of labor. We want to achieve this development through a speedier realization of the results of science and technology, through a consistent transition of the national economy to the path of intensive development, and by raising the social effectiveness of production and the quality of all work.

One of the most important roads to successful advancement is by asserting utmost cost efficiency, making a better use of fuels, energy, metals, fodder, and other raw and industrial materials, and by more effectively utilizing production assets and working hours. It is primarily here that we must seek new sources for the growth of our national economy, which we need to meet the growing needs of society and to consolidate the social guarantees of the people.

An inexhaustible source of the strength and progress of our society is in the development of initiative and the use of the talents and abilities of our people.

We will continue to expand tested and progressive methods of work, such as those being exemplarily developed by the brigades of socialist labor, comprehensive rationalization brigades, the movement of inventors and improvers, and so forth. We will continue to raise the efficiency of competitions such as "For Top Quality of Final Products," "For Linking Science With Production," "For Exemplary Fulfillment of Export Tasks," and other forms of work initiative, depending on the nature of individual branches. We will also make greater use of collective socialist pledges.

The respective economic workers and sectors must establish favorable conditions for the development of the working people's creative initiative and broad-based activity. This concerns, above all, the development of counterplanning and deepening of intraenterprise khozraschet [cost accounting system based on financial autonomy], introduction of progressive norms governing the consumption of materials and labor, and a consistent implementation of the socialist principles of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of work and its benefit to society.

We are convinced that workers, cooperative farmers, members of the intelligentsia, other working people, men and women, trade unionists, and young people will develop socialist competition in honor of the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army, and will concentrate their efforts on fulfilling and overfulfilling the economic plan for this year and the tasks of the entire Seventh 5-Year Plan.

We also expect that this glorious anniversary will become a new impetus for further embellishing towns and villages, improving the environment, and fulfilling the electoral programs of the National Front.

Quality and conscientious work for the benefit of society is the best way to express one's respect for and warm attitude toward the bequest of the national liberation struggle of the fighters for our freedom and socialist present. In this work, we will live up to the purpose of the celebrations of this historical jubilee.

The generations that experienced World War II remember the horrors, suffering, and hardships that it brought our nations. After the end of the terrible conflagration therefore, they vowed to do everything they could to protect future generations from war tragedies in order that they learn to appreciate the value of peace and regard its defense as the fundamental prerequisite of life and the supreme humanistic order.

From the beginning of the revolutionary transformation of our society, we have been linking this transformation with the struggle for peace. Socialism is intrinsically linked with peace. We consistently proceed from the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The policy of the CPCZ and our socialist state in international relations stems from the innermost interests of our people and their historical experience. Following the lessons of Munich, for which we had to pay so dearly, and the sacrifices needed to win our freedom, we cannot indifferently watch when imperialism, which bears responsibility for two world wars, threatens mankind with a nuclear catastrophe. In ensuring the security of our country and the entire socialist community, we draw unavoidable conclusions from the fact that on our western border the United States and its NATO allies are installing first-strike nuclear weapons. We are profoundly alarmed by the aggressive course of present imperialism, especially the most reactionary circles of U.S. imperialism, through the fault of which the international situation has significantly deteriorated in the last few years.

These forces are creating and rekindling very dangerous hotbeds of tension in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Particularly tense is the present situation in the Middle East and the Caribbean. A grave danger is threatening Europe. Any war conflagration flaring up in Europe would be a catastrophe for the entire human race. There is no more important task than the prevention of a nuclear war.

The Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and other Warsaw Pact states respond to the adventurous policy of the reactionary forces of imperialism with prudence and a determined effort to ensure peace. The strength and authority of the Soviet Union, the socialist community, and anti-imperialist and antiwar forces in the world provide a realistic opportunity to bar the way for the aggressive designs of imperialism and to defend the peaceful future of nations. The prerequisite for this is, above all, in strengthening the internationalist unity of the countries of the socialist community and the unity of all progressive, democratic, and peace forces. The CSSR has always supported, and will continue to support anti-imperialist, national liberation, progressive, and revolutionary movements.

The Soviet Union was and is a firm guarantor of peace and progress in the world, It has always been aware of its responsibility for the preservation of peace and its policy is the greatest hope of mankind in the present complicated times. The CPCZ, the CSSR Government, and all Czechoslovak people support the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and fully identify with them. We firmly support the conclusions expressed in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact states adopted in Prague on 5 January 1983. We see in the fight for peace on our planet one of the greatest duties toward our people, our nations.

Socialist construction, the entire path toward socialism which we are taking in keeping with the historical conditions and needs of our fatherland, has verified and proved the revolutionary, fundamental, and lasting significance of the alliance, friendship, and cooperation with the Soviet Union for the vital interests of the Czechoslovak people, of our nations and nationalities. Together with the historic jubilee of the culmination of our national liberation struggle and of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army, we are recalling the unforgettable significance of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the CSSR and the USSR of 6 May 1970. The treaty is based on the fact that Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union are mutually linked by the identity of the socialist social system, by common ideas, goals, and interests in the battle for peace and progress. It is as Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, stated: "The alliance and the close cooperation with the Soviet Union are, for us, not only a revolutionary legacy, but also a living reality, the certainty on which we base all our plans and prospects of further development."

The alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries form the cornerstone of our foreign policy. We regard it as one of our most significant tasks to consolidate this alliance; to develop this cooperation in all spheres -- including economic cooperation, of which CEMA is a significant tool; and to consolidate the unity of the countries of the socialist community. This also represents our substantial contribution to peace and to the people's security.

The country which is our homeland, in which the work and dreams of generations are invested, and the present features of which are, to a decisive extent, the result of our socialist effort during the past 40 years, this country is our common property. Its shape tomorrow, and the happy future of our people will both depend on us, on our endeavors today.

Let us not waste this opportunity, let us fulfill this mission of ours. We will affirm by our deeds our love for our beautiful country and our devotion to socialism. We will implant in all the coming generations ardent international sentiment, as well as gratitude toward the Soviet Union, without which there would be neither our national and state existence, nor a free socialist present. Under the CPCZ leadership, in the firm unity of the people, of our nations and nationalities, and of the social organizations and political parties rallied in the National Front, in an indomitable alliance and unwavering friendship with the Soviet Union, as well as in fraternal unity with the other states of the socialist community, we will devote -- generation after generation -- the entire force of our work, knowledge, and culture to the advance of our country.

Together with all peace-loving people throughout the world, we are resolved to do everything to ensure peace.

We are committed to this by the glorious past, by the struggle and effort of our predecessors, as well as by the blood jointly shed by those who won our freedom in battle.

We are committed to this by the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the Czechoslovak people's national liberation fight and of our fatherland's liberation by the Soviet Army.

HONOR AND GLORY TO THE HEROES OF ANTIFASCIST STRUGGLES!

HONOR AND GLORY TO OUR LIBERATORS, THE COURAGEOUS SOVIET PEOPLE!

LET OUR SOCIALIST FATHERLAND PROSPER!

LET PEACE REIGN FOREVER ON OUR BEAUTIFUL EARTH! [passages in uppercase published in boldface]

Signed: CPCZ Central Committee; CSSR National Front Central Committee; CSSR Government

## SUCCESS LINKED WITH DEFENSE OF LENINISM

AU251812 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Apr 84 p 1

[Editorial: "The Strength of Leninism"]

[Excerpts] Lenin's rich ideological legacy, the revolutionary and critical content of his teaching, his consistency, perseverance, and irreconcilability in defending the principles and tenets of Marxism against its revisionist and opportunist deformers as well as against hostile attacks of bourgeois anticommunist ideologues, and the entire life of this thinker and revolutionary serve as a insurpassable model of revolutionary activity and creative thought.

The return to Lenin's ideological legacy and the analysis and generalization of the experiences of the movement that he was heading are one of the most important means of a creative approach to the problems of the present. One of the most characteristic features of Leninism is a masterly combination of scientific theory with revolutionary practice. Leninist revolutionaries do not only seek a truthful interpretation of reality; scientific theories act as and play the role of an inevitable prerequisite of a practical transformation of the world. At the same time, no development of theory is conceivable without its being linked with class struggle, with practice.

Lenin was the creator of militant materialism, of a materialism that uncompromisingly and vigorously opposed all variants of bourgeois ideology, revisionist "corrections," and deformations of Marxism. Even today, principled and offensive ideological influence and a convincing and persuasive ideoeducational activity that explains the noble positive values of socialism and its advantages and prospects must be at the center of our attention.

Our recent experiences have confirmed the need to defend the ideological purity of Marxism-Leninism and to wage a consistent struggle against all deviations, simplifications, and deformations of the practical implementation of the ideas of socialism. Developments in Czechoslovakia in the period of crisis showed that it is impermissible to retreat even one step in ideological struggles, that one must not accede to any, even only "temporary," compromises. Offensive ideological work, irreconcilability with relapses into bourgeois and petit bourgeois ideology, and struggle against revisionism and all variants of opportunism must be in the center of permanent attention of the Communist Party and the entire ideological front. Struggle against revisionism and opportunism must be understood as a permanent process accompanying the class struggle with the bourgeoisie and its destructive ideological influence. It is necessary to realize that revisionism and opportunism have not been overcome once and for all. To eliminate its influence means to deal in good time with problems that have become ripe, to wage an offensive ideological struggle, and execute consistent offensive ideopolitical work.

The results of the April session of the CPCZ Central Committee [in 1969], which elected Comrade Gustav Husak to head the party, furnishes evidence of a Marxist-Leninist approach to solving the critical situation of the years 1968-69. A principled, consistently called-based, and genuinely Leninist approach to solving the critical situation was a characteristic feature of the new leadership's policy. The rapid and successful overcoming of the political crisis and a number of positive results in building advanced socialism and educating a new socialist man -- all this confirms the correctness, relevance, and immortality of Lenin's political ideas.

Successes in building a socialist society -- and this applies to every country without exception -- are immediately associated with a consistent linkage of the revolutionary movement with the theory of Leninism, with the elaboration of appropriate, principled class approaches, with loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and with its creative and principled application in everyday practice.

## BRIEFS

SFRY TRADE COMMISSION -- A session of the Czechoslovak-Yugoslav mixed commission for the exchange of goods and services ended today in Belgrade with the signing of a closing document. The document states that mutual exchange of goods and services developed successfully last year, and reached the record sum of more than $1.5 billion, which is 15 percent more than set out. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 27 Apr 84 LD]

## REAGAN MEETS DENG XIAOPING; ENDS BEIJING VISIT

LD282052 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1719 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Beijing, 28 Apr (ADN) -- U.S. President Ronald Reagan ended his official talks in Beijing today. He met Deng Xiaoping, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo's Standing Committee and chairman of the party's Central Commission of Advisors, for a talk.

## PRC DELEGATES TOUR LEIPZIG FACTORY, CONCERT HALL

LD27[illegible]206 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1619 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Leipzig, 27 Apr (ADN) -- During a visit to the Iskra memorial and the Georgi Dimitrov Museum in Leipzig on Friday, a delegation from the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries praised the preservation of the German and international working class movement's revolutionary traditions. The delegation, led by Wang Bingnan, member of the Standing Committee of the Sixth PRC National People's Congress, has been in the GDR several days.

Earlier in Leipzig the guests had talks with representatives of state bodies and enterprise collectives. In the S.M. Korow Engineering Plant the development of this works into an internationally renowned large-scale enterprise was explained to them. Its main product, railway rotary cranes, are in operation in over 20 countries. China has so far purchased 19.

On Thursday the delegation viewed attractions in Leipzig town center, including the new concert hall, and learned about the area's economic and social development from representatives of the area (bezirk) council.

## FRG OFFICIAL, MITTAG DISCUSS INTRA-GERMAN TIES

LD271414 Hamburg DPA in German 1023 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] East Berlin, 27 Apr (DPA) -- Schleswig-Holstein Prime Minister Uwe Barschel gained the impression in a talk with SED Politburo member Guenter Mittag that in the foreseeable future there will be no deterioration in intra-German relations "in spite of some question marks." Mittag led him to believe that the GDR was not aiming at any change in cooperation and that it was interested in intensive cooperation in some areas, Barschel said after the 1-hour talk in East Berlin on Friday. He and Mittag noted that the continuation and intensification of the dialogue between the two German states was in both sides' interests.

Also the head of the FRG permanent mission in the GDR, Hans Otto Braeutigam, who attended the talk with Mittag, said that he saw no indications of a deterioration in relations.

The GDR actions against citizens wishing to emigrate, which the FRG Government had criticized on Wednesday, had not been raised, Barschel said. After the intervention of the government, it was not his task to raise the issue again. Moreover, with regard to the case of Pastor Wolf Quassdorff, who was sentenced to 14 months detention, he received information from FRG sources that "possibly throws a somewhat different light on the events" than previously had been the case in the West. He will examine this information after his return. Braeutigam said this was "a serious issue" that would be dealt with by the FRG Government through the appropriate channels.

Quassdorf had made an application to emigrate and had been arrested 1 day after his visit to the permanent mission. In the past week, an East Berlin court sentenced him to imprisonment for illicitly passing on information abroad. The Federal Government has used the Quassdorf case, among others, as the basis of its protest.

The GDR is still interested in the visit to the FRG by Erich Honecker planned for the autumn, and in creating the right conditions for this, Barschel said. But a situation is conceivable in which the detention of a man such as Quassdorf could be an "obstacle" to this. This depends on the "actual facts."

Barschel said that in his talk with Mittag he had expressed some understanding for the "irritation" caused by the mention of youth travel groups from the GDR in the report of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution. He had asked Mittag not to take any hasty measures, such as the restriction of exchanges. He could imagine that the "irritation" could be dispelled by a talk between the relevant politicians on both sides. He did not gain the impression that the GDR wanted to use the matter as a pretext to restrict youth exchanges.

He and Mittag also discussed numerous matters of cooperation in the economic, technological and cultural spheres, and expressed a desire for the alleviations of restrictions on travel in both directions, Barschel said. Among others things, he asked that pensioners be exempted from the minimum exchange amount and proposed that major cities like Hamburg and Hanover be included in the regulations governing local cross-border traffic. Yet he did not have the impression that there would be big concessions on this in the immediate future.

The Schleswig-Holstein prime minister ended a 1-week private visit to the GDR on Friday. Among other places, he visited a chemical works in Karl-Marx-Stadt, the University of Jena, and cultural institutions in the Ore Mountains.

## Mittag: Remove U.S. Missiles

LD271428 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1028 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Berlin, 27 Apr (ADN) -- Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received Dr Uwe Barschel, prime minister of Schleswig-Holstein, for a talk today.

Guenter Mittag said that, in view of the aggravated international situation, the GDR considered more than ever that the safeguarding and consolidation of peace was the paramount question. The GDR, therefore, stands by its responsibility that war must never again start from German soil. In keeping with this responsibility the GDR pointed out with all due seriousness that with the deployment of new U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles in Western Europe, especially in the FRG, the situation has changed and serious harm has been done. Peace is not being created with fewer weapons, but rather the opposite is happening. A nuclear inferno must be prevented. The proposals of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other countries of the socialist community made in Prague and Moscow for ending the arms race, for arms limitation, and for disarmament in accordance with the principles of equality and equal security, provide a constructive basis for this.

The GDR is doing its utmost to encourage a responsible dialogue and to have a calming influence on the situation. Above all it is necessary to halt further deployment of U.S. missiles and to dismantle the existing systems. A return to the situation existing prior to the start of deployment would make negotiations possible. With regard to relations between the GDR and the FRG on the basis of the Basic Treaty, despite the tense situation it is a case of preserving and, where possible, expanding what has been achieved. The chances for this would have been better without the start of deployment.

Also taking part in the talks were Karl Seidel, chief of the FRG Department of the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Dr Hans Otto Braeutigam, head of the permanent mission of the FRG in the GDR.

## FISCHER VISIT, TALKS IN AUSTRIA CONTINUE

### Meets CP Chairman

LD271907 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1634 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Vienna, 27 Apr (ADN) -- GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, member of the SED Central Committee, and Franz Muhri, chairman of the Austrian Communist Party, had a friendly talk in Vienna today on the struggle for disarmament, detente and international cooperation. Fischer gave an account of GDR efforts to achieve international security, peace, and disarmament. He praised the good level of GDR-Austrian relations. Muhri pointed out that Austrian opinion is increasingly concerned about NATO's policy of intensified arming. The Austrian Communist Party supports the many activities directed against this policy which creates grave dangers for neutral Austria. He reported on his party's struggle for the social rights of working people. Good Austrian-GDR economic relations, he said, are an important contribution to safeguarding jobs in Austria. He stressed the fraternal relations between the Austrian Communist Party and the SED, which are developing successfully in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

### Received by Sinowatz

LD271142 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1012 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Vienna, 27 Apr (ADN) -- GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer was received this morning, the second day of his official visit to Austria, by Federal Chancellor Dr Fred Sinowatz. Oskar Fischer conveyed greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and an invitation to visit the GDR. The chancellor reciprocated the greetings and accepted the invitation with thanks.

In their talks the two politicians noted with satisfaction that relations between the GDR and Austria are developing in a stable and steady fashion for the benefit of both states, and they supported their further expansion.

Oskar Fischer then visited the Austrian Federal Parliament, where he was warmly welcomed by the president of the National Council, Anton Benya, and had a talk with deputies of the three parites represented in parliament.

### Ambassador Gives Reception

LD271811 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1551 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Vienna, 27 Apr (ADN) -- Dr Horst Grunert, GDR ambassador to Austria, gave a reception at which Oskar Fischer met with Dr Norbert Steger, Austrian vice chancellor and minister of trade. Those present included Austrian Minister of the Interior Karl Belcha, Minister of Finance Herbert Salcher, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Erwin Lanc; the federal president's chief of cabinet, Dr Wolfgang Loibl; President of the Federal Economic Chamber Rudolf Sallinger; and President of the Austria-GDR Society Prof Friedrich Epstein.

The GDR foreign minister's visit to Austria ended with a visit to Vienna city hall where he was warmly welcomed by Mayor Leopold Gratz.

During his talks with Foreign Minister Lanc, the two sides positively assessed their dynamic relations, which are imbued with mutual trust, and called for their steady development. In the discussion on international issues Oskar Fischer referred to the GDR's concern at the worsening world situation, the result of the U.S. policy of building up arms and seeking confrontation and military superiority. He stressed that the GDR and all other Warsaw Pact states do not consider the situation to be irreversible. It is imperative, in bilateral and multilateral contacts, to build a coalition guided by good sense.

Foreign Minister Lanc expressed Austria's concern at the worsening international situation. But the multifaceted efforts to preserve the gains of detente, achieved in the seventies, are encouraging. In this context he praised the GDR's constructive policy of dialogue. He accepted with gratitude an invitation to visit the GDR.

In an interview for Austrian television, Oskar Fischer spoke of the serious strain which the start of deployment of new U.S. missiles in West Europe has placed on the international situation. He pleaded for a return to the situation that existed before this deployment in order to facilitate new steps toward detente.

### Vienna Coverage

For Vienna radio and television reportage on the 2-day visit to Austria by Foreign Affairs Minister Oskar Fischer, including his meeting with Austrian Foreign Minister Lanc and scheduled meetings with Austrian President Kirschschlaeger and Chancellor Sinowatz, see the Audtria section of the 26 April Western Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

## KLEIBER HOLDS TALKS WITH AL-ASAD IN DAMASCUS

LD271652 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1348 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Damascus, 27 Apr (ADN) -- Hafiz al-Asad, secretary general of the Syrian Arab Republic, and Guenther Kleiber, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and GDR minister for general and agricultural engineering and vehicle construction, praised the high level of bilateral relations between the GDR and Syria in Damascus today. In the friendly exchange of views they reaffirmed their will to expand the mutually advantageous cooperation steadily and dynamically.

Guenther Kleiber, who has been in Damascus for the eighth meeting of the GDR-Syria Committee for Economic, Scientific, and Technological Cooperation, conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, to Hafiz al-Asad, which were reciprocated with equal cordiality.

Hafiz al-Asad thanked the GDR especially for its efforts to develop and consolidate relations between the two countries. The two politicians agreed that the rapid aggravation of the international situation, caused by the activity of the most aggressive imperialist circles, require determined and immediate actions by all states and peoples to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. They condemned the U.S. efforts to achieve strategic military superiority and to dictate its will to the peoples. This policy was evident in both Europe and the Middle East.

Touching on the Middle East situation, they stressed that it continues to be explosive. Both politicians agreed in stressing that the United States is responsible for this, because in addition to encouraging its strategic partner Israel to continue its aggressive expansionist policy it is itself directly interfering in the affairs of the Arab peoples and is disregarding the national interests of the Arab peoples in the grossest manner.

Guenther Kleiber praised Syria's important contribution to forcing back the American-Israeli plans for hegemony in the Middle East and gave the assurance that the GDR will continue to stand actively alongside Syria and all other Arab forces that support peace, independence, sovereignty, and the preservation of the national rights of the peoples of the region. The meeting was held in a friendly and open atmosphere.

Yesterday, Guenther Kleiber had a meeting with Syrian Vice President Dr Rif'at al-Asad. During the discussion the Syrian politician stressed the extensive support of the socialist countries for the Syrian Arab Republic. He spoke in favor of joint action by the GDR and Syria in the struggle against the hegemonistic efforts of the United States.

In Guenther Kleiber's talks with Syrian Prime Minister Ab'd ar-Ra'uf al-Kasm and Syrian Government ministers, both sides expressed the desire to further develop friendly relations. Both sides discussed topical questions of economic cooperation for the benefit of both peoples and states. GDR Ambassador to the Syrian Arab Republic Reinhard Escherich was present at the talks.

## Al-Asad Telegram to Honecker

AU251922 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- "We are convinced that the relations of friendship and cooperation existing between our two countries will further strengthen and deepen to the mutual advantage of our two peoples and in the interest of our common goals." This was stated by Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad, general secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, in a telegram to Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman. President al-Asad expressed thanks on behalf of the Syrian Arab People, the leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, and on his own behalf to the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the friendly people of the GDR for the congratulations on the occasion of the Syrian national holiday, "The solidarity of the GDR with our people in the struggle for a just peace, against aggression and expansion is highly appreciated in Syria," the telegram states. "Please, dear Comrade Erich Honecker, accept my best wishes for personal health and happiness and for further successes of your friendly people."

## Economic Accord; Departure

LD271828 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1411 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Damascus, 27 Apr (ADN) -- The eighth meeting of the GDR-Syrian Arab Republic Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation in Damascus ended with the signing of agreed minutes and a protocol on GDR-Syrian trade in 1984. The documents were signed by the committee's two chairmen -- Guenther Kleiber, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister for general and agricultural engineering and vehicle construction, and 'Abd al-Qadir Qaddurah, member of the regional executive of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and Syrian deputy prime minister for economic affairs. On the basis of the positive results achieved in economic relations, specific measures were set out to consolidate and deepen the mutually beneficial cooperation.

More cement industry and rural electrification projects is the key point. The GDR will also deliver construction machinery and mobile agricultural machinery and undertake reequipment programs in the textile industry and agriculture.

Guenther Kleiber has ended his visit to Syria. Before his departure he spoke to the Syrian press of the significance of the committee's eighth meeting and the agreements reached. They provide a firm basis for the long-term expansion of bilateral relations, particularly in the economic field. 'Abd al-Qadir Qaddurah and other members of the Syrian Government at Damascus airport gave a cordial send off to Guenther Kleiber and his delegation.

## STOPH, MARJAI EXCHANGE VIEWS ON ECONOMIC TIES

LD271435 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1222 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Berlin, 27 Apr (ADN) -- Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Jozsef Marjai, deputy premier of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic and chairman of the Hungarian side of the GDR-Hungary Economic Committee, praised the successful development of relations between the GDR and Hungary at a meeting in Berlin today. Taking as the starting point the agreements in principle by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, they stressed that economic cooperation is taking place in line with the jointly laid-down goals and that mutual trade is increasing according to plan. This strengthens the certainty that the decisions taken by the 22d meeting of the GDR-Hungary Economic Committee will promote the further development and deepening of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries.

Current international matters were also discussed during the exchange of views. There was agreement that the safeguarding of peace is the most important present task. Both countries would continue to work with the USSR and the other socialist states to prevent the destruction of the present military balance by the most aggressive circles of imperialism.

The talk, which was held in a cordial atmosphere, was also attended by Wolfgang Rauchfuss, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR side of the GDR-Hungary Economic Committee, and Lajos Nagy, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Hungarian People's Republic to the GDR.

## HONECKER'S CONDOLENCES ON BOMB ATTACK IN ANGOLA

### Telegram to Dos Santos

AU261328 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, sent the following telegram to Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola:

Dear Comrade dos Santos: On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the GDR people I convey to you and the friendly Angolan people our heartfelt condolences and sympathy for the Angolan and Cuban citizens murdered in the bomb attack of the criminal National Union for the Total Independence of Angola gangs in Huambo. We share the grief and anger of your people at this severe loss and most resolutely condemn this disgraceful attack, which also claimed the lives of women and children.

Dear Comrade dos Santos, accept our renewed assurance that the GDR will continue to stand in firm solidarity at the side of the courageous Angolan people.

## Telegram to Castro

AU261330 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Apr 84 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, has sent the following telegram of condolences to Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Council Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba:

Dear Comrade Castro: On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the people of the GDR I convey to you and all the Cuban people our heartfelt condolences and sympathy for the Cuban physicians, construction workers, teachers, engineers, and technicians killed in the bomb attack in Angola.

The GDR shares the grief, the pain, and the indignation of the Cuban citizens who selflessly made their contribution to a new Angola.

The government and the people of the GDR resolutely condemn the insidious attack of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola gangs, which are in imperialist services, on the Cuban citizens, including women and children.

Dear Comrade Fidel Castro, accept the assurance that the GDR stands in firm solidarity at the side of the heroic Cuban people.

## BRIEFS

TRADE WITH FRG INCREASES -- Wiesbaden, 24 Apr (DPA) -- In trade with the GDR in the first 3 months of 1984 the Federal Republic exported less but imported more. The Federal Statistical Office in Wiesbaden reports that exports from the Federal Republic to the GDR amounted to DM 1.48 billion, which was 23 percent less than in the equivalent period last year. In contrast, imports from the GDR rose by 18 percent to DM 1.9 billion. [Text] [Hamburg DPA in German 1520 GMT 24 Apr 84 LD]

## APRO-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM KUWAIT

LD272010 Budapest MTI in English 1710 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Budapest, April 27 (MTI) -- The Hungarian parliamentary delegation, which paid an official visit to Kuwait from April 22 to 27, headed by speaker Antal Apro, returned to Budapest, Friday.

The delegation held talks with Muhammad Yusuf al-'Adasani, speaker of the National Assembly, on topical international issues and the development of bilateral and inter-parliamentary relations. Both parties expressed the wish to develop bilateral cooperation, and it was stated that positions on international issues including problems of the region, were identical or similar.

The delegation met Sheikh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, amir of Kuwait, Sheikh Sa'id al-'Abdallah as-Salim as-Sabah, prime minister and crown prince, 'Abd al-'Aziz Husayn, minister of state for cabinet affairs and Sheikh Nasir M.A. as-Sabah, state secretary of communications.

## SZUROS MEETS WITH PCE OFFICIALS, SPANISH PREMIER

LD291953 Budapest MTI in English 1703 GMT 29 Apr 84

[Text] Budapest, April 28 (MTI) -- A delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, headed by CC Secretary Matyas Szuros, visited Spain from April 24 to 28 on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE).

The Hungarian party delegation held talks with the PCE negotiating party, headed by Simon Sanchez Montero, member of the Executive Committee and secretary for international affairs.

Matyas Szuros held talks with PCE Secretary-General Geraldo Iglesias, Deputy Secretary-Generals Enrique Curiel and Nicolas Sartorius, Andreu Claret, member of the Executive Committee and the Secretariat, Felipe Alcaraz, member of the Executive Committee, and officials of the PCE.

The Hungarian delegation visited Seville and met leading officials of PCE provincial committee in Andalusia.

Dolores Ibaruri, president of the Spanish Communist Party, met Matyas Szuros.

In the course of the talks, held in the spirit of internationalist solidarity and mutual understanding, the parties gave briefs on their countries and the work and current aims of their parties. The main issues of international life and the international communist movement were discussed and readiness to further strengthen party relations expressed.

Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, secretary-general of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, met Matyas Szuros.

The Hungarian party delegation returned to Budapest Saturday.

## BUDAPEST TV DISCUSSES CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

LD270100 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1934 GMT 26 Apr 84

[From the "Sixty-Six" program, presented by Janos Ban]

[Excerpts] [Ban] I greet everyone and wish you a pleasant, argumentative good evening. The fundamental thought of our program today is the relationship of the state and the church. For this reason, I consider it my duty to say in advance that in the next hour, we do not want to dispute or (?debate) the existence of God. It would be very good, and I ask your help, if we avoid all types of extremes, more extreme individual manifestations. However, it is our conviction -- and the letters, just like our travels in the country, have confirmed this -- that this society can only be built collectively, by believers and nonbelievers, by the religious and the nonreligious citizens together. However, I would like to ask your opinion in this. Do you agree that society of today and tomorrow can only be built collectively? Those [in the studio audience] who agree with this should push button No 1. Those who deny this, or say no, should push button No 3. Sixty-five, and 1 no vote.

Now we can turn to what the 66 undertook, the relationship of the state and the church. What is your opinion? Is the relationship between the state and the church good? -- button No 1. Those who feel there is work to be done, improvement to be made -- button No 2. Those who feel the relationship is bad -- button No 3. Twenty-two good's; 41 saying there is work to be done; 3 bad votes; so 1 did not vote [as heard]. After this, I introduce and greet today's guest of "Sixty-Six": Imre Miklos, state secretary and chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs. You recently were in Geneva. The newspapers wrote about this. One of our viewers enquires: Whom did you hold talks with there, and what was the goal of your visit?

[Miklos] You surely know that Geneva is the center of the Protestant churches. The (?exchanges of view) were on: now, and how to proceed after this. Is it possible to continue the dialogue between Christians and Marxists in this sphere too? What can we do collectively in this tense international situation in order to avoid a third world war, a nuclear war? What can they do, and what can we do?

[Ban] I also have a personal question, if we are on this topic. When I asked you to appear on this program, why did you reply with such reluctance?

[Miklos] If you please, I actually meditated on it a great deal, not because I was afraid of this program -- believe me, we are much more advanced than part of public opinion may think, regarding the relationship between the socialist state and the churches. Neither should a responsible state official or responsible church official have to fear this topic. We are beyond that time. There are no so-called touchy questions or taboo questions. However, I know that it exists in public opinion that it is better to take care with this topic. When they learned about the program, my friends also said: Are you afraid of reaching into that hornets' nest? I am not afraid because there is no hornets' nest.

Nevertheless, why did I meditate? Can this wide-ranging issue, with so many types of levels and qualities, be discussed in the framework of such a 1-hour program? Is this 1-hour duration enough time? I am certain that it will not be enough.

[Ban] State Secretary Imre Miklos, you say that there are no touchy issues. I would like to take out some letters from this pile, firstly those about which the dear letter writers wrote that there are such touchy questions, that we would not dare to pose them anyway. Unfortunately, we also have encountered unsigned questions. However, we can only invite those people here to the studio who sign their names and addresses.

One of the most often recurring questions is why has the Pope not visited our country, and can a papal visit be expected?

[Miklos] Yes, this is an interesting and fashionable question these days, especially since the Polish cardinal archbishop was in Hungary, and at the end of his holy speech given in Esztergom Cathedral, he expressed his desire that the Pope should be greeted here too. Now, I can say to you that a visit to Hungary does not figure, as far as I know in the Vatican's travel plans for the Pope, nor does such a journey figure in the Hungarian Government's receiving plans. As far as I know, and this was mentioned at the most recent discussion when the Vatican's envoys were here, that they do not consider it justified either. At the moment, I can say that such a plan for a visit is not on the agenda.

[Ban] The next question. Why are the religious services on the radio so short, and why is there no holy mass on television? In this regard, before you answer, I would like to ask you: in your opinion -- and everyone can express an opinion in this, since religious and nonreligious people watch television, naturally -- should there be holy mass on television? Yes -- button No 1; no -- button No 3. One did not vote. Thirty-nine say yes; 26 say no.

[Miklos] On the topic of the radio: generally, the length of church service itself is not more than 30-40 minutes. The time apart from this is organ music, singing and other material. If we take that into account, church service on Hungarian radio also is 1/2 hour long, and then generally serious music, usually religious-inspired music, follows. So, generally, the program is 1 hour long.

The issue of television roughly is broken down like the voting here. It is not simply a program-editing issue, but opinions in this also are divided. Among the religious people and the church leaders as well, it is judged in completely differing ways; as far as I know, the grounds for this is more and more disputed in the western world too.

There is an opinion -- I am not competent in it, but I can convey it because I know of it -- that the broadcast of church service on television further alienates the believers from church services. A person watches the mass or service during breakfast and while eating toast.

[Ban] You have said the opinions are divided within the church. Priests have volunteered for our program and we have warmly welcomed them. I ask those who accepted our invitation to raise their hands. How many pastors are there? Eight. Thank you. Can I ask you your opinion in this regard? Should there be church service?

[Unidentified speaker] In my opinion, it would be good for television to provide a broadcast for the believers, at least on important occasions: at Christmas, Easter, when enthroning bishops. My justification: this is the opinion of the majority and a large proportion of the country's population also wishes this.

[Ban] But do you want regularly broadcast church services?

[Speaker] No, I want them only on important occasions.

[Ban] Yes. Please, speak.

[Unidentified second speaker] My opinion on this is that if the braodcasting of masses were to be introduced on television, then the believers would be drawn away from church in much larger numbers, than drawn away from other places by television. So, the number of believers would decrease with this, in my opinion.

[Ban] Yes. Please, speak.

[Unidentified third speaker] There are many elderly people who greatly require this program.

[Ban] Please, speak.

[Unidentified speaker] I join those at home: The young people could be accustomed to it, this could give a taste of the church's religious instruction, which, in my opinion, has been cut down somewhat, not even somewhat, but a great deal.

[Miklos] I said at the beginning and I continue to adhere to this, that opinions are divided. I do not consider the broadcast of some masses precluded. For example, the Kodaly mass was broadcast by Hungarian radio in its entirety. There have been such things. Then, when Cardinal Augustino Casaroli was here, a great part of the mass was broadcast. But there is not enough program time for such a long church service, for such a festive ritual, which perhaps lasts for 2 hours. We have only (?two programs). Nevertheless, a great part of it was broadcast by television. What you say exists.

[Ban] Another question that keeps cropping up: How many churches were built in Hungary during the past 25 years?

[Miklos] Since 1945, 628 churches have been built. This includes prayer halls. Between 1970 and 1980, 144 were built. I am not counting the ones that are being built at the moment because there are some that are not ready yet.

[Ban] Many questioners ask why students studying for the priesthood have to do military service: This is one half of the question. The other half of the question is: What is the position of the state in relation to those denominations that refuse to do military service on principle?

[Miklos] You know very well that the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic says that all Hungarian citizens are obliged to defend the homeland. This is an obligation laid down in the Constitution, and this is valid for every citizen. It also relates to those preparing for the priesthood. What I can say here is that young potential recruits preparing for the priesthood are dealt with very tactfully. They have a Bible, and their future superiors can visit them. During more important holidays, such as Christmas and Easter, it is they who obtain leave, etc. What is more I meet on occasions rectors of seminaries who feel that military service is decidely beneficial. They become more fit and stronger. They said this: you can check up on this. It does not cause the confusion that people think it causes.

All I can say, is that the Christian denominations operating in Hungary do not forbid military service on principle. This situation only exists with the Nazarenes, which we tolerate because for them it is a religious principle that they do not take up arms.

Hence, an agreement has been reached between the Nazarene church and our office, according to which we shortened it, and in the case of those who are of the Nazarene faith, they do military service without carrying arms. This was the solution, and in practice this is working very well.

[Ban] Many people asked, and I think this is a comprehensive question, how cooperation between the socialist state and the churches can be possible because of the natural ideological difference between the two institutions?

[Miklos] Yes, this question arises very often. Our society is built by people of differing ideologies. This is a fact. Some people like this, some people do not, but this does not change the objective situation. So one cannot pose the question: socialism or God. We have had so much trouble with this word or. We use it badly. I know as well that there are occasions when the answer can only be yes or no, but I am not sure that the question has to be posed this way on every occasion, and that on this option remains. I very often use this word also.

I have to tell you honestly, that once about 30 years ago when I started my career, the question was posed in a slightly different way. We did not give enough time to each other. We had to find on a realistic ground what could be done together, what we could affirm together, how we could vote without [word indistinct] every day, and what were the things we could not agree about. So the question is not yes or no, but how. We have discovered this. One thing, of course, is very important, which is not easily understood in some cases: A denomination or a church represents its own followers, and the Hungarian state has to represent the interests of all Hungarian citizens. This is much more difficult because while there are differences among various individual denominations -- I do not think I have upset anyone by saying this: this is a fact -- so while individual denominations in the interests of their own followers or their own ideals, the state of Hungary also has to represent those, and the interests of those who do not belong to any group, those who are not religious. On this point, it is unusually mentioned that power is in the hands of the state. So what is the situation here? The church has the power of the soul. If you think about history, you find that this secular power, power on earth, was abused just as much as the power over the soul. There are enough historical examples for this: I do not intend to delve into these at this point. Neither power should be abused.

[Ban] I am asking for your opinions again. What are the characteristics of these debates between church and state? Let button No 1 signal that in the majority of cases, the debate is about issues for which there are no solutions. Second button: The debate is about opinions that differ significantly. The third button should signal that most of the issues that are the subjects of the debate can be solved. Sixty people say the issues can be resolved; 4 people say they differ significantly; and 2 have signaled that the issues cannot be resolved. Voting is secret, naturally. I am just asking the person who says that the issue cannot be resolved if he is prepared to tell us why he voted like that. Yes, please.

[Unidentified speaker] There is a significant difference between the two. On the one hand, believers and those who read the Bible know from the book that they expect a solution from God. The opposite side, on the other hand, expects the solution from powers on earth. This is where I see a contradiction that cannot be resolved because we either believe one and we serve that one, or we have faith in the other, and that is how we try to familiarize ourselves.

[Unidentified second speaker] I was the other person who voted that the problem cannot be resolved. It is impossible to solve it on the basis of the current state of affairs because Marxism has thrown up a new type of morality, which, I tell you honestly, I consider immoral. At the same time, Marxism does not give an answer to a wide range of questions. Let us look at what this means in practice. Coeducation was instituted at exactly the time when discipline was at its worst possible.

[Ban] Let us get back to the point where we started. Are there any unresolved issues between the church and the state?

[Miklos] Of course there are arguments. During the past decades, a healthy partnership has been established between the leaders and priests of the church, and leaders and officials of the state. I do not want to idealize this. I am also aware that there are mistakes and excesses. These occur today as well, from both quarters, and these should not be allowed to happen. I shall go further: in my view, whether it is a man of the church or a party secretary who commits these in the interest of his own ideology, he harms his ideology most. This is my opinion.

Now let us talk about the arguments. Yes, arguments exist. There are arguments that are at the point of being resolved, which we shall resolve. An example of this: We are having talks with the body of Hungarian Catholic bishops, and these are approaching conclusion even regarding practical steps. This is the issue concerning the opening times of churches. Someone had mentioned religious education. Religious education takes three forms: At schools, on a facultative basis [it is not compulsory]. Then there is religious education in churches, which used to be concerned with catechism, but has now become religious education, precisely as a result of our negotiations. Since there are churches which cannot be heated adequately or are unsuitable for religious education for other reasons, religious education takes place at the parsonage, according to the relevant regulation.

There is another group of issues, where time is needed, not only will. Please believe me that good will is not enough. Good will is very important because without it, work cannot be done. But it is not enough by itself, and the conditions have to be ripe for it. This is not only a matter of subjective judgement. Here is an example: we are debating and talking about how the shortage of priests can be overcome. there is a shortage of priests in Hungary -- not because of socialism, as it is very often put simply, because the shortage of priests in Austria is greater than in Hungary. This is their statistics, not ours. But the shortage exists. Obviously, the question arises: How should the church make up for the shortage? Talks are being carried out here about how this should be done, about a regulation on this, so that this should happen in an orderly and constructive manner, and not in a chaotic way.

In the charitable institutions run by the church, there is a labor shortage. About 50 to 60 such institutions are operating in the country. These are social and health institutions maintained by the churches. The possibility of establishing a new religious order, a religious order for women, has arisen. Talks are being carried out about this. I believe that these talks will be fruitful this year. There are also other topics. I tell you honestly that there are issues that cannot be debated. For example, the issue of the institution of compulsory religious education cannot be a topic for discussion; the abolishment of denominational equality cannot be a topic of discussion either. Most of the issues can be debated. What is most important -- and we are very proud of it, which is a great achievement -- there is no issue that cannot be debated in an open, honest manner of partnership within the framework of the system of relations between church and state.

[Ban] Let us turn to another set of topics. How many religious people are there in Hungary? We also ask: Why is there no statistical report on this?

[Miklos] I do not know how many religious people there are in Hungary. I think that no one knows. The last time there was a statistical survey, census was in 1949, when this question was posed. Since then, the question of religion cannot be posed in any official paper in Hungary. With this, it is expressed that religion is a private affair in the Hungarian Peoples Republic. The question can not be posed. At one time the elderly know this well; young people can look into it -- this question entailed serious consequences. Religion was among the first questions, immediately after the name, the year of birth, and the mother's name. The type of answer the person at hand gave had serious consequences. I do not have to elaborate on this; this has a history. There is no such thing in Hungary now. If a person wants to travel abroad, religion is not asked. When the issue at hand is the allocation of a flat -- I am touching on a difficult question -- then it is not asked whether one is an atheist or a believer, but how many children he has, and he who has three children gets a flat even if a believer rather than a communist or atheist who has no children. I think that this is right. It is not necessary to pose this question, it is the internal affair of everyone.

By virtue of this, we have no kind of statistical report. I think, according to estimation, that generally the proportion which existed in 1949 -- that two-thirds of the religious population in the country was Catholic and 1/3 had another religion -- is valid today. However, I cannot give exact, precise statistics, and we do not endeavor to establish this in an up-to-date manner. This does not have such significance. We cannot answer this.

[Ban] The lady there wants to speak; please do so.

[Unidentified speaker] Regarding this topic, I would like to say that this statistic cannot be shown truly because there are party members who profess themselves to be party members, at the same time, the christen their children. Then, they take them to a name-giving ceremony. This is not compatible. If one enters the (?party organization), and it is not obligatory to enter, then religion is not a private affair. I also have two children. I am not a party member or a believer. I have raised them to be honorable people, irrespective of the fact that [word indistinct]. I tried to raise them into people.

[Ban] Please, speak.

[Unidentified second speaker] What is the difference between religious morals and communist morals? At the most, from the viewpoint of their being believers or non-believers, the rest does not pertain to this.

[Miklos] There are many points of coincidence between the two, it must be recognized.

[Second speaker] If I am moral, then I am a communist. If I am immoral, then I am religious. Or the reverse. This is the point of coincidence.

[Miklos] Part of the issue is true, but the other part, from which one realizes morality -- why is he moral? The issue at hand is the why. Whether one believes in God does not provide a uniform answer.

[Second speaker] I also have questions.

[Miklos] This is a fundamental issue of principle, and we could debate this a great deal now. The issue, rather, is whether we gets to. Do you agree with me in this, that on the basis of various philosophical bases, it is possible to reach the point of, for example, one being against war.

[Second speaker] And national unity, too.

[Miklos] Our national unity, too. You are completely right.

[Second speaker] It is the essential thing.

[Miklos] It is the essential thing. I also emphasize that. However, we cannot [word indistinct] that in the meantime one takes another philosophical basis as his point of departure, and he reaches a thing, and here is the agreement, that it can be reached. This is a very important touchstone of our national unity, that people professing various philosophies can live together, and it is possible.

[Third speaker] I profess myself to be both an (?atheist) [word indistinct] and a believer, and the two things cannot be incompatible. If we find them incompatible, the antagonism and contradiction appear here, and we cannot be reconciled for this reason. Every member of the church is a citizen; every communist or socialist or Marxist is a citizen. So, they must enjoy citizens' rights; they must fulfill duties on the basis of equal assessment, on the basis of equal laws. It is everyone's private affair whether he is a believer or atheist. The two, party membership and atheism, must be separated. Why cannot someone be a party member, even if he is a believer in God?

[Miklos] But you also say that one cannot be a party member because one is believer?

[Third speaker] No. I say that one can.

[Miklos] That the two can be together?

[Third speaker] It is possible; they are not incompatible. Otherwise, we should not even endeavor for unity.

[Ban] Now, young people, please speak.

[Unidentified forth speaker] A child cannot decide at the moment of birth whether he wants to be an atheist or Christian, or whether he wants to follow the religion of his parents, I do not elaborate, whether it is Calvinist or Protestant. If a parent, whether or not he is a party member, gives his child the freedom of conscience to decide later whether to be religious or Marxist, this is not to be objected to.

[Unidentified speaker] If a child decides to be an atheist and joins the party, which is not synonomous -- that is, one can be an atheist without joining the party and one can be a party member -- then the party regulations are valid for him. According to this, he must live according to the party's regulations, and he will not be religious.

[Ban] Do the priests have an opinion in this regard?

[Unidentified speaker] Briefly, regarding this set of topics, a saying of Jesus comes to mind. Jesus said: Be hot or cold, but not luke-warm, because if you are luke-warm, then I will spit you out. My experience is what the state secretary said -- that I can cooperate much better and work for the people and for a good atmoshere in this society with a seriously thinking, committed Marxist rather than a nominal Christian. It is a problem, generally, of how committed a person is. He can be Marxist or Christian, but he should not be nominal.

[Ban] What religion do you serve?

[Speaker] I am a minister of the Reformed Church.

[Ban] Please speak.

[Unidentified speaker] As far as I know, the Hungarian party is a communist party, and the communist party is based on a materialistic ideology. This is one thing I want to react to. The other thing is that every society has its own morality; socialist society also has its morals. Unfortunately, it awoke late, and I, as an active teacher for 25 years, am involved in this, that we started it late. However, if we want to characterize the morals, then we can say that the morals are no other than the relations of man to fellow man, and to things.

[Ban] Young man, please speak.

[Unidentified speaker] I also (?fear) for whatmay happen if one wants to be both a party member and a believer at the same time. I do not know whether it has been considered: if perhaps opinion is asked on such an important issue. What will be said? Will one side be leaned toward on one occasion, andthe other on another occasion? What will the end of this be? That no one will develop in the country that it might have unforeseeable consequences?

[Miklos] I can answer this: As it already has been said here, within the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party -- that is, for the members of the party, religion is not a private matter. That means that the party's charter is a norm. I wonder why some people find this strange. It is just natural that a person cannot belong to a party, to an organization or even to a church if he is not conforming with its regulations. A Catholic priest, for example, cannot marry. This is a prescription. In a Calvinist church, one cannot usually find Catholics. So, what is natural in other organizations, in churches as well, is sometimes questioned in connection with the party. Why?

Religion is not a private matter. Party membership is not compulsory. If one undertakes being a party member, he must accept these norms too -- not only accept the norms and live by them, but also take an active part in their propagation. By entering the party, he undertakes this too. There is something more that perhaps belongs here: Let us be tolerant with each other. Believers and Marxists should be tolerant with each other, with the one who holds different beliefs. It should not have primary importance that one believes in something different. What is really important is that we are open about the difference. This is not a negligible question -- how can we collaborate, we who have different beliefs or convictions. At the moment, I am not saying more, saying it in the hope that we can agree in this. I do not know if you can agree with this.

[Ban] Do we agree? Let us vote about it. Let us see. Yes: 57 votes; no: 4 votes.

In this respect, we have an oftmentioned question, which often figures in letters we receive. Can party members take part in the church funeral of their close relatives?

[Miklos] Yes. There is a regulation for this too. This is another matter. The party charter does not forbid members to take part in a funeral of a close relative. He reports his intention at his basic organization, and he is permitted to take part. Please let us not have ideological arguments over an open grave. If we have not concluded it by then, let us not argue there.

[Ban] Please. The floor is yours.

[Unidentified speaker] I would like to add to this two more points. The first one: I am a retired hospital chief surgeon from Keszthely. My point concerns hospital service. I know about hospitals where no problem exists in this respect. Priests can enter anytime they are called -- in spite of existing regulations. I stress, according to regulations, one has to obtain different permits. There are hospitals strictly adhering to these regulations. Is not the time ripe right now to make these regulations concerning permits a bit looser? This is the first point.

The second one is this: The believer may need a conversation with his priest not only before his death, but also during his illness.

[Miklos] Hospital regulation is a public decree; it has to be obeyed. If regulations are violated, please, inform us and we shall put it right. As far as the contact of the patient and his pastor is concerned, the patient can be visited when he is in very grave condition and needs the priest, and he or his relative requests it. If priests go there during the entire illness, it causes disturbances. Please imagine, there are 20 churches. This is disturbing. It is impossible. I do not believe that someone having a few days in the hospital with, say, a bone operation, cannot live without a priest. He can satisfy his religious need by praying, etc. I do not believe that this is a question of freedom of conscience.

[Ban] Financial questions are often raised in our days. Andras Nederka, Budapest, Hadak Road, a pensioner. He asks: What is the financial support given by the state to the church? How much is this roughly in a year?

[Miklos] State aid to priests is 74 million forints a year. In addition to this, there are the historical buildings owned by the church. These represent one third or 30 percent of the total of the country's assets in historical buildings. Churches get this proportion of the state budget. That is, we are treating equally state and church owned historical buildings. We consider both as national assets. This is on top of the 74 million. Churches have a number of special provisions. For example, they do not pay tax on their income. Church people get free medical service like all other citizens and get everything connected with this.

[Ban] Yes, please.

[Unidentified speaker] I would like to ask you the following: You said, Mr State Secretary, that the state gives 74 million forints in support to the churches. [unidentified voice heard laughing, temporarily interrupting] If we divide this among the believers, the sum is not very big. Why is this sum not given by the believers themselves? Why must the state make a special sacrifice? I am not speaking about the support given for different national assets.

[Miklos] It seems that for the activity of churches, for the really free activity of them, this support is also needed. But in principle, you are right, I think. After the separation of the state and the church, state support is unnecessary. But we are in a period when for the time being this is still needed and the government decided not to withdraw this support. Since 1 January 1969, the agreement is not compelling the state to grant state support, but the existing good relationship and the financial situation of certain churches made the government vote this sum.

[Ban] Many people raise the point that the interest in religion, especially among young people, is growing and there is a religious revival throughout the world. First of all, I would like to ask your opinion about it. Those who think that young people's interest in religion has been increasing, please press button No 1. Button No 2 is for those who think the interest is unchanged. Number three means the interest is on the decrease. So, I repeat: Has religious interest been growing among young peole? Yes: 39: Unchanged: 15; and 12 think that it has been decreasing.

Now I am asking the representatives of the different views to take the floor.

[Unidentified speaker] The knowledge of the Bible is a part of cultural history, generally speaking. We know the role of religion in the life of states and peoples, as you, Mr State Secretary, have also said. But to learn about this, I do not know how easily young people can get access to the Bible because according to my knowledge, state publishing is not dealing with it.

[Ban] Let us vote about it. This is a very interesting question. Should we know the Bible better? I refer to it now, first of all, as a literary work, a part of cultural history. Should we know it better? Those who think that it should be known better than it is known at the moment and that it should be propagated more, please press button one; those who think that this is a question of individual choice, press button two; and those who think that this is unnecessary and the situation is good enough as it stands now, please vote by pressing button number three. Let us look at it. Opinion number one: 57; number two; 5; and number three: 3. One person abstained again; it is a pity. That person has no opinion on this question.

What is your opinion about this?

[Miklos] This is again a question that is often raised. As far as I am concerned, I find it unrealistic to speak about religious revival. But it is equally unrealistic to propagate the quick withering away of religion. I think both opinions are unbased. I think there is some error somewhere here. A part of the problem comes from this error. It is true that the interest in religions and in churches has grown, but this does not mean an increase in the influence of religion. Churches are not aware of this. These are two separate questions. The increase in the interest toward religions and churches is an understandable thing. Why? Because people are relatively poorly informed about this. This has several reasons; we could talk about this a lot and argue about it. People are relatively poorly informed. This is a fact. We have no reason to wish that people should be less informed about this than about other subjects. Thanks to God, young people are curious -- this is one of their good characteristics. They want to know more and more. They cannot progress, and sometimes they do not get answers. This is why the interest is stronger in our youth. I think this interest should be staisfied. Yes, it should be satisfied. We Marxists have the task to answer this interest in a Marxist way. Churches obviously want to satisfy this interest in their own way. This is very obvious.

I say, therefore, that there is no reason to be surprised or shocked by this interest. It has to be considered a very natural thing. There is a demand here, and we have to fill a gap. I can permit myself to say that sometimes this is just a fashion. I do not want to simplify it, but I also calculate this way. In some circles it is fashionable to do this. It does not matter. What matters is that this demand has to be satisfied. Here is the question of the Bible. I dare to say that there have never been so many volumes of the Bible in Hungary than in our days. Believe me, in the last 2-3 years, 200,000 copies were printed here in Hungary. I am not speaking about the volumes sent in from abroad. I am afraid there are more copies of the Bible around than the number of Bibles people read.

And another thing: The Bible cannot be simply read. Preliminary learning is needed for that. You cannot just take the Bible in your hands and read it from cover to cover. So the question is not yes or no. I would also vote with the 54 -- sorry -- with the 57. Why should people not read the Bible? Is it worse than the Greek mythology? We have no problem with it at all. Yes, it is a masterpiece of world literature. Who has any problems with it? Is there any intelligent atheist holding a different view about this? The question is how it should be taught, by whom, in what way. To teach the Bible, one has to be educated. If there are teachers, nobody stops themfrom doing from job.

[Unidentified speaker] I have a few questions in connection with the religious revival. How has the number of church weddings and christenings been developing in recent years? Is there an increase or a decrease? And where can one get access to the statistics? To my knowledge the trend is strongly increasing. And the place where I heard these data, not as a private person, but in my official capaicty, was on a special course on the history of religion at the Marxist university. When I asked for detailed statistics, saying that I was an English language interpreter and I need the data for my work, to my surprise I was told that statistics on this are not available.

[Miklos] I have not got it with me here, but there is a little gray book that was produced on this 6-8 years ago. Now we are preparing a new one. All those data that you are speaking about are given in this book. It is not a secret; it was published. It can be found on the desk of every local council chairman; it is practically everywhere, and we have posted copies to the churches, too. It is not a secret. Since there are several changes, we have to publish it again; we are actually working on it. The other thing is that you are not well informed: there is no rising trend here, so far as church weddings and [hesitates] are concerned. It is rather an up and down process, for several reasons. The general trend is rather a decrease. There is a very important thing here that is not appreciated by many people. We have created a society without fear. And this concerns our question too. Most people are not afraid to practice religion. This is a really great social achievement. Compared to the time when people were afraid, overt religiousness is more widespread now. In those years we could not see religiousness. These are two different things.

[Ban] Please, you, in that corner.

[Unidentified speaker] I come from Nyirvasvari, Szabolcs County. People donate property, but these donations are somehow disappearing. Church people cannot be asked to account for them. I have tried to do something in the episcopate, but there is no one who can make accounting obligatory. In cases like these state organs avoid intervention. Why? When I reported to the state organs I was told that without instructions from above they cannot interfere in church affairs. How can the state overlook such things? These donations are given by the people and they disappear into private pockets.

[Miklos] There is an accountability on the part of the churches concerning the sums granted by the state. This is our business. The sums donated by the people directly have to be accounted for there. They should make their own priest accountable. I think the great majority of the clergy is using these donations in the proper way. If you have a grievance in such a matter, why don't you go the episcopacy?

[Unidentified speaker] But I am not allowed even to enter the premises.

[Miklos] Write me a letter about it and I promise the case will be investigated.

[Unidentified speaker] Thank you very much indeed.

[Unidentified speaker] Every parish has an auditing committee, a yearly report is given; everything is public, there can be no corruption here. This is so in every parish.

[Ban] Please, another priest.

[Unidentified speaker] I would like to put a personal question to you, Mr State Secretary. You are considered abroad as a brave state secretary -- you, and of course the government -- for holding a big international religious gathering in Budapest. Are you not a bit afraid.

[Miklos] Are you referring to the Lutheran World Congress?

[Unidentified speaker] Yes.

[Miklos] I tell you frankly, I am not afraid. Our social conditions permit such a congress. If these conditions did not exist, I could not be so "brave," using your word. I can be brave because the MSZMP has a political conception which is easy to represent. Of course, we must be cautious, since even this good line can be disrupted. If a policy is bad, it is hard to represent it well.

I tell you frankly, we are not as beautiful as we would like to be. But we are not as ugly as we are described abroad. Let foreigners come here, look at us and form their opinions about us.

[Ban] Finally, I would like to ask you about church schools. Many people think it is a disadvantage at university entrance to have a certificate from a church secondary school. Others think just the contrary. Let us vote first about it. Yes. Votes are almost equally divided.

[Miklos] The national public opinion is really divided similarly -- half and half. You seem to be a really representative sample. Communists usually think church schools are very good; therefore their graduates have an advantage. Religious people usually think that graduates of church schools are suffering discrimination. According to my specific data, graduates of the countries' church schools -- we have 10 of them -- 8 Catholic ones, 1 Calvinist and 1 Jewish -- have equal chances at university entrance. They are not the best, but they are among the best.

[Ban] Let us close with a short question and a short answer. What is the future of the state's church policy?

[Miklos] We have to carry on as we are, just to do everything better. We have to accept that religion is to exist for a long period of socialism.

Some people will remain religious; the difference in world outlook between Marxists and believers will remain with us. Both sides will continue their efforts to convince people about the truth of their respective positions. The essential thing is that the joint interests of the two sides must always have priority. As Comrade Kadar said to an aktiv, if we have such a mixed society, let us build socialism with this mixed society, but as quickly as possible. All creative forces in the country should concentrate on the interests of the whole Hungarian people that coincide with the interest of the whole of mankind. Peace must be kept, because without it there will not be people left to continue the argument. A good life in Hungary and good national achievements can be created only by joint efforts.

[Ban] I hope we have succeeded in talking very frankly about some real taboo subjects. Thank you for Imre Miklos's answers, for your passionate arguments, and for the attention of the viewers.

## MSZMP OFFICIAL ON ROLE, DIRECTION OF PROPAGANDA

AU251150 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Apr 84 p 7

[Interview given by Sandor Boros, deputy chief of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the MSZMP Central Committee, to Denes Maros, entitled "Interview With Dr Sandor Boros, Deputy Chief of an MSZMP Central Committee Department: On the Regeneration of Party Propaganda"; date and place not given; first paragraph newspaper introduction]

[Text] A great deal is being said today about the need to continuously modernize propaganda, about the fact that making changes and the contradictions of the present situation and development understood calls for a party education whose content is different from what it was previously and for enriching its means and methods, while of course retaining everything that is also valid under the new circumstances and continuing to acquaint people extensively with the ideas and fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. We put questions to Dr Sandor Boros, deputy chief of the Central Committee's Department of Agitation and Propaganda, about the position and tasks of party propaganda.

Maros: Before we discuss new features of propaganda work, let us speak about the traditions and the constant criteria, because acquainting people with the party's policy, ensuring they understand it, and developing action unity are not new endeavors.

Boros: It has always been a prerequisite for the successful implementation of policy that, together with correct decisions, we should make our objectives and tasks clear. The party's program can be turned into action only if party members and the broad masses understand, agree, and identify themselves with it, if the various social strata recognize their own interests in the political objectives. Everyone tries to fit decisions into their political and ideological scale of values. Therefore, the task of propaganda is -- and this applies to the entire history of the communist movement to date -- to make the party's ideas and policy understandable and convincing. It is a fundamental prerequisite for persuasion that what we say should correspond to the truth. If the precepts of propaganda correspond to the truth, then our principles will shape political culture and the people's world outlook, morality, deeds, way of life, and outlook on life. Only in this way was the communist party able to educate self-sacrificing combatants and masses to sympathize with its objectives in the decades preceding the liberation. In the years following 1945, it acquainted hundreds of thousands of people with the foundations of Marxism-Leninism. In the fifties also, propaganda suffered from the distortions of politics, and most importantly -- conformity between truth and words -- was ruptured. Rather than reflecting the facts, the justification of daily policy became its task.

Thus, of course, it lost credibility and the term propaganda took on a derogatory aspect, that is, the semblance of embellishing and apologizing for the truth.

Essential Changes

The changes in our party's policy have restored the credibility of propaganda. It has acquired a new meaning, or, more precisely, it has reverted to its original task, to expose the truth. Reviving the Political Academy, at which students acquainted themselves with the new content of policy, was one of the MSZMP's first acts. In the sixties, party education and propaganda activity became a comprehensive system. A place was given in the various educational forms to acquaintance with the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, studying the party's daily policy, and the political-ideological training and further training of leaders. Party education extends from basic organization propaganda work to the political high school. Educational directorates operating alongside county party committees, high-standard workshops for creating awareness, fulfill a significant role. Each year, 600,000-700,000 people participate in party education. Additional hundreds of thousands of people are drawn into the dissemination of political knowledge by the KISZ, the trade unions, and the people's front. More than 1 and 1/2 million people participate in organized education. We can say with reassurance that, as a result, the teachings of Marxism-Leninism have become generally known and the political education of broad circles of party members and nonparty people has greatly improved.

Maros: If party education and propaganda was so effective and successful, what justified and justifies a change, a renewal? There has always been a certain modification, but it seems now that the resolutions and guiding principles of leading party organs are urging more.

Boros: The reason is the fact that we are experiencing essential changes that set new demands for party work and the party's entire activity. Comprehending the changes and pursuing a constructive activity aiding the solution of problems do not constitute a spontaneous process. We must persuade the masses of the correctness of our policy and the need for changes. Let me add immediately that it was easier for us to argue in the sixties and seventies. The facts of development spoke for themselves, conditions were more favorable, and propaganda, too, suggested that we were progressing smoothly, without hitches, in building a socialist society. Nobody can be faulted for having become accustomed to this situation, for preferring a rapid elimination of contradictions. However, we would be making a mistake in propaganda if we did not conform to the truth, if we did not authentically present the international and domestic conditions under which we are living. Of course, spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism has remained our fundamental goal, but this cannot be independent of time and circumstances. We cannot be satisfied with reciting yesterday's theses, which, although they have proven true to date, often do not provide the answers to questions of the present. The principal criterion of propaganda is how far it can be used for orientation among events in the world and in action serving our interests.

A renewal is urged also by the fact that 40 percent of our population is under 30, it has been born into socialism. We must hand down to young people the historical experiences of the workers movement and social construction. The population is more cultured and has had a better education. We must make allowances for the spread of radio and television and the impact of mass communications. Among other things, the expansion of social democracy has brought with it the fact that the mere communication of knowledge is outdated. Those participating in political education do not want only to listen to the lecturer, they have questions and an opinion on topics. A specific outlook has developed in all of us about socialism, into which we are fitting -- as I have already noted -- our new experiences and knowledge.

It makes one uncertain if they do not fit, if they seem strange. Bluntly: propaganda must convince one of the correctness of changes, of the fact that they serve socialist development. Let us not deny that today there is more uncertainty and doubt in people than previously.

Not everyone accepts the new solutions; if you like, there is also a conservative outlook in the public way of thinking. In some people our real problems create doubt about the future. When there is a conflict between individual or group interests and the public interest, this could inevitably result in some people losing their footing in a certain way. It is more difficult to identify with political decisions when they are -- at least temporarily -- not favorable for the individual. We can encounter another kind of uncertainty as well. Let us call it perhaps a relativizing of our values and Marxist outlook, under which I mean that some people cast doubt even on our socialist achievements and fundamental principles, saying that, although these achievements and values do exist, they would exist also without the party's policy. Undoubtedly, Western propaganda directed at the socialist countries also provides arguments for this outlook. The international ideological sturggle has intensified. We, too, are reached by the views that try to present our weaknesses and problems as an inevitable concomitant of socialism and our results as solutions that diverge from socialism. It is obvious that we must respond to these distortions, as well as to mistaken views, views at variance with socialist ideas, and occasionally, dissident views also.

Maros: Thus, there are many kinds of reasons urging a renewal. How does diversity manifest itself in the expansion of the content of propaganda?

Boros: To begin with the most important one: propaganda displays greater sensivity and pays more attention to domestic and international changes. It presents processes and their implications. We cannot content ourselves with explaining decisions. We must also reveal what factors shape decisions, what options there had been to choose from. What speaks for the one, the other, or the third, what does the one resolve and what contradictions does it create, what would be its consequences? It is with such content that propaganda can be convincing, it is thus that it exposes, makes one realize the need for decisions. Where do we derive our arguments, on what analyses can we rely: We can rely, among other things, on the researches of the social sciences. There is a continuous link between the social sciences and political decisionmaking organs, research results strengthen the storehouse of means and the system of propaganda arguments. We can refer to theoretical consultations, with whose conclusions we can strive to acquaint people on a broad scale. The relationship between youth and society have been analyzed in recent years. Theoretical conferences have been devoted to the topics of history and public mentality, the position and role of the intelligentsia, the socialist development of the village, our post-liberation history. amd the international ideological struggle.

The regeneration means among other things that in the education curriculum an increasing part will be given to current political issues, everything that interests people. It is impossible to do propaganda work by repeating and repeating abstract theoretical formulas, when the audience is curious about other things as well.

More attention will be paid to the history and domestic development of socialism, which is justified by two points of view. On the one hand, because this pieces the facts together, the younger generation did not experience them and knows little about them. On the other, the analysis is more exact, more realistic, if justified, it is also critical, it does not conceal mistakes. We do not make the past better looking, either, and do not apologize for the past. The perception of the process proves the main tendencies and general value efforts of the construction of socialist society.

A prime mover of the interest toward history is also the fact that without knowing our past, it is impossible to identify with the whole process of socialist construction, and without a historical clearsightedness, the current changes seem accidental and by chance.

## There Is Need for Argument and Reasoning

The situation of our economy, the possibility for development and progress, have become major issues also in propaganda. What is happening and what is expected in the world economy, how does it influence us, what are our resources, and I could go on. And we must beware that we cannot be satisfied with the "clean" presentation of economic processes.

We cannot ignore the explanation of international and world political events, either. Who's not worried by the increase in tension, the question of war and peace, the European missile deployment? Let us not deceive ourselves: we are not alone on the "track". We cannot and do not want to cut anybody off from views that are different from ours or that even oppose ours. But it is our responsibility to argue with them, to contradict them. Sometimes we are too "polite". It is a misunderstanding of political patience if we let erroneous views remain without a reply. Is it impolite to represent our truth, to defend it, to present arguments in favor of our conviction? Hardly.

Enriching the content of party education is aided by the fact that our party's ideological activity has increased. I have already mentioned that it was easier to argue in the sixties. I could also say that we have become more complacent. The justness of Marxist-Leninist ideology has been proved daily by our growth and development, and fewer contradictions emerged. Now, ideological questions have emerged under more difficult circumstances. Why is the socialist society better and more just, why does this and how does it serve the interests of the workers, why does this ideology give correct answers to the questions of our era, and so on?

## A Sense of Identification

Maros: The regeneration of content also demands a renewal of means, methods, and forms. Is the party education up-to-date, and under what conditions do the propagandists work?

Boros: The efficiency of propaganda depends, of course, also on the conditions -- on the material, and mainly personal conditions. Starting with the more simple one: the new technical means of spreading knowledge are used in party education, too, such as audio-visual aids, films, video material stores, the latter being present at county educational centers. The written materials are prepared more quickly, with contents that take more into consideration than just the real requirements. The school-like education is replaced by the open exchange of views.

It is impossible to determine centrally what makes things progress in a certain area. We offer centrally some 100 subjects for lecture propaganda, adding that it is possible and even necessary in certain cases, to deviate from them. Thus, no doubt, not only the independence but also the responsibility of the party organizations increases. The propagandists can work successfully only if they "get the ball", if their task is to discuss politics. It is worth noting that propaganda activity cannot be separated from party work as a whole. There is no such thing as the party organization fulfilling its mission when it performs poorly in propaganda, or vice versa, the propaganda cannot be outstanding in cases where the members meetings are formal.

Propaganda cannot be confined to an academic interpretation of concepts, it must address the practical application of basic truths, and this requires political argument, polemics with the wrong notions, the joint search for solutions, in other words, active politicizing.

The Marxist outlook is formed by means of a comparison of precepts and the reality. The state of correspondence and possible divergence develop a realistic picture. It is true that propaganda makes an impression primarily on reason, that it operates with arguments, but it can by no means reduce its task to rigid rationalism, to objectively taking stock of the facts. In order to develop conviction, an emotional identification, a passionate espousal of the recognized truth, also play a role in party education. Propaganda must also provide this sense of identification.

### Regular Exchanges of Views

Maros: I think that this brings us to the key protagonists, the propagandists, the selection and training of propagandists, the question as to who should be the advocates of the party's ideals....

Boros: The almost hundred thousand propagandists of party education are working commendably, devotedly, and enthusiastically, the great majority of them with erudition and sensitivity to changes. A renewal can only be accomplished with them, through their ability to adapt to the changed circumstances and tasks. It is one of the most important tasks of party organizations to spot party members who are suitable for this activity and prepare them for it.

Among other things, propagandists' clubs and county party education directorates are the workshops of preparation. We must conduct regular exchanges of views on new results of the social sciences, experiences, and proven methods with propagandists. Nor should we underestimate non-organized possibilities for preparation! Numerous publications and articles aid orientation. Something is amiss in the activity of a party organization if it delays answering timely questions for the reason -- it claims -- that it has not yet been briefed by a higher party organ. It has been informed in the press, television, and publications.

The responsibility of party organizations -- and propagandists as well, of course -- is particularly great in two respects. One is the fact that party members should actively represent the party's policy and ideological position in their own environment. The second is: more and more age groups are growing up into adulthood and searching for their place in socialist society. We used to say that we must help young people integrate themselves into society. What does integration require? As well as acquaintance with the favorable development of our real situation, acquaintance with our objectives and values, comprehension of the fact that our party's policy serves the interests of youth as well. Identification is not easy, when one bears in mind the contradictions of the environment that is receiving one. It is also certain, however, that the human and ideopolitical countenance of youth is shaped by what it experiences in this environment.

## OBODOWSKI INTERVIEWD ON COOPERATION WITH USSR

AU261356 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21/23 Apr 84 pp 1-2

[Interview given by Vice Premier Janusz Obodowski to Andrzej Leszczynski: "Continuing Friendship"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Lesczynski: What is the impact of our cooperation with the Soviet economy on our economy?

Obodowski: The size of the Soviet market enables us to promote export specialization in response to Soviet orders. One example of that is the fact that we have been able to build up the potential of our shipbuilding industry only because of the multiyear Soviet orders for our vessels. That industry has become one of our national industries, and one-fifth of the Soviet merchant navy and fishing fleet consists of Polish-built vessels.

Leszczynski: Are there any new elements of Polish-Soviet cooperation in connection with the rich experience of the 39 years of Polish-Soviet treaty with the present international situation?

Obodowski: Experience shows that the Polish-Soviet treaty is good for our people's interests and for socialist construction in our country. Our borders are secure and our close neighbors are our allies. Our country is and will be a permanent and reliable element of the defense alliance of the socialist countries. We follow common policy, one that serves world peace, justice, and social and national progress.

When Poland was submerged in a crisis and total anarchy we learned once again that a friend in need is a friend indeed. At a time when our country's constitutional government put a stop to anarchy and began to painstakingly restore elementary order and discipline, the hostile forces in the West, which had donned the mantle of defenders of freedom, unleashed on economic and propaganda war against us. The Reagan administration decided in connection with its policy of global struggle against communism to use Poland and the "Polish card" as the most convenient area of attack against the socialist community.

We know that the economic aggression against our country has caused us telling economic losses, but the aggressors have failed to achieve their goals. They have failed to impose their political concepts on the Polish people and to force the Polish economy to its knees, which give me great satisfaction. It was the maturity and honest efforts of our working people and the fraternal assistance from the USSR and other socialist countries that made that possible.

Leszczynski: What have we learned from that most recent experience?

Obodowski: The primary lesson is that we must strengthen the economic integration of the socialist countries. In addition, we Poles have fully learned the truth that the economic relations with the West are exclusively conditioned by political and seasonal considerations.

Leszczynski: What about new elements in our cooperation with the USSR?

Obodowski: We have to view this issue in the wider context of our two countires' development programs and their implementation. The Ninth PZPR Congress formulated the economic policy whose backbone is tighter relations with the socialist countries, primarily with the USSR. The development of production cooperation and specialization can offer us extensive new possibilities.

We will develop our traditionally specialized skills such as construction, road machines, and ships. We want to build sulfur acid plants, sugar mills, and many other plants. We also want to participate in cooperation and specialization in the fields that determine technological progress and modern production. Those fields are, above all, electronics, computers, microprocessors, automated installations, nuclear energy plants, color television, and digital systems.

I think that in addition to specialization in individual branches of production, we should promote cooperation and specialization in the individual lines and assortments of production. That cooperation and specialization can develop from the present rudimentary cooperation between many Polish and Soviet enterprises. I think that in this way we can improve the implementation of the programs for conserving fuels, energy, and materials.

Developing and intensifying the cooperation and specializations with our Soviet partner is especially important for us because, in order to be able to pay for the Soviet materials and fuels now and in the future, we must be able to export attractive wares to the USSR. However, the problem is that we have gotten used to regarding Soviet supplies as unlimited supplies.

Leszczynski: Is our knowledge of the needs of the Soviet market adequate?

Obodowski: We still have not developed the day-to-day practice of watching changes in the Soviet market, analyzing its needs, and modifying production to suit its requirements, especially in view of the fact that our industry will encounter increasingly severe competition in that market. We have to bear in mind that the greatest economic powers in the world are aware of the advantages of economic cooperation with the USSR.

That is why, if we want to strengthen our position in the Soviet market the managers of our industry must quickly change their attitudes toward their Soviet partners. Their new pro-export philosophy must pay special attention to the needs and demands of the Soviet clients. Only then will our plans in the area of cooperation and specialization in production be feasible.

We want to coordinate our development policy on a wider scale and to formulate new cooperation programs. Such cooperation will create better conditions for developing complementary economic structures. Even now, as far as we are able to, we try to participate in development undertakings in the USSR in exchange for future supplies of materials.

I think that it is in our economy's vital interest to promote our participation in joint investments and to increase our specialist services for the Soviet client, especially construction services. We would also like our friends to get involved in completing some of the half-finished investments in Poland and in participating in new development undertakings.

The coordination of development policy is closely related to jointly programming and implementing scientific research and development work, which is becoming increasingly more costly. This is why it is desirable to promote that work in the fields of industrial cooperation. I hope that the practical results of that work will help our country to gradually eliminate the technological distance between it and the most highly developed countries in the world.

I have listed just a few areas in which our economic cooperation is acquiring new values and producing new solutions. I think that in order to further develop our cooperation and boost its results we need -- side by side with all the necessary elements -- that kind of creative enthusiasm, knowledge, and trust that was the distinctive mark of those who laid the foundations of our people's state.

## GDR'S WEISS VISITS TO PLAN ECONOMIC COORDINATION

LD262047 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1742 GMT 26 Apr 84

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Apr (ADN) -- In Warsaw today Wojciech Jaruzelski and GDR Deputy Premier Gerhard Weiss, faced with the confrontation course of U.S. imperialism, expressed the determination to make use of all possibilities to deepen the overall cooperation between the two states and their leading parties. They stressed the need to make effective the advantages of the socialist planned economy through the even closer coordination of the economic policies of the two countries and with the USSR and the other socialist states.

Weiss took part in the 19th meeting of the Polish-GDR Committee of Economic, Scientific, and Technological Cooperation, which ended in Warsay today after a 3-day session. It adopted decisions aimed at the more effective use and further development of the available research and production potential in the two countries through closer cooperation.

The chairmen of the joint economic committee, Gerhard Weiss and Polish Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski, signed a protocol on the results of the meeting and the further deepening of economic, scientific, and technological cooperation.

The two sides stressed that the consolidation of the fraternal bond between the SED and the PZPR is the decisive basis for the further planned integration of the economies of the two countries. In trade between the two countries, a high level of dynamism has again been achieved and further stable development in reciprocal trade has been reached with the protocol for 1984, the document states. Reciprocal deliveries of raw materials, materials, semifinished goods and chemical products are being steadily continued in the interests of stable supplies to the economies of the two countries.

For the deepening of specialization and cooperation in production in the period after 1985, specific projects in the spheres of metallurgy, engineering, and the chemical industry were discussed. During the planned coordination for the forthcoming 5-year plan period, the contractual agreements for these were prepared so that they could be incorporated into the national plans.

## VISIT BY BULGARIAN TU DELEGATION TO GDANSK

### Agenda Reviewed

LD262129 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 26 Apr 84

[Excerpts] A delegation of the Bulgarian trade unions arrived in Gdansk last night. The delegation is led by Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions. The Bulgarian visitors were received today by Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Gdansk Voivoidship party committee.

Later, the trade union delegation visited the Paris Commune Shipyard in Gdynia. The guests acquainted themselves with the working conditions in shipyard workers. Subsequently, a meeting between the Bulgarian delegation and representatives of the shipyard work force was held. In the afternoon, the Bulgarian delegation met with representatives of trade unions from Gdansk Voivodship.

### Talks With Jaruzelski

LD281932 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] A delegation of Bulgarian trade unions, including Petur Dyulgerov, Chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, has ended its visit to Poland which lasted several days. Today, on the final day of his stay, Petur Dyulgerov was received by Wojciech Jaruzelski. The guest informed the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee about current tasks facing the trade unions in Bulgaria, and also relayed his impressions of meetings with trade union representatives in work enterprises in the voivodships of Bydgoszcz, Gdansk, and Warsaw, and of his talks with representatives of the chief executives of national trade union organizations. During the meeting views were exchanged on the roles and tasks for party members within trade unions. The increasing role played by the unions in shaping the living conditions of working people, in the development of workers' democracy, and in Poland's socioeconomic life, was emphasized.

### Delegation Departs

LD282149 Warsaw PAP in English 2021 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Warsaw 28 Apr -- The delegation of Bulgarian trade unions ended its official visit to Poland today. The delegates, headed by alternate member of the Bulgarian Communist Party CC, chairman of Bulgarian trade unions Petyr Dyulgerov met with chairmen and representatives of several dozen Polish [word indistinct] trade union structures on the last day of their visit.

"We are greatly impressed by the talks we held during our stay in Poland," [word indistinct] of Bulgarian unionists said. "We are also positive you will successfully solve your problems. Nobody in Bulgaria ever doubted that the Polish working class and Polish authorities will find the right way out of the social and economic crisis," Dyulgerov said.

## AGREEMENT RESCHEDULING DEBT TO WESTERN BANKS

### Malec Outlines Accord

LD272051 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] An agreement has been signed in Warsaw between the Ministry of Finance and the Handlowy Bank on one hand and the working group of Western commercial banks on the other hand, on rescheduling part of the Polish debt on which payments fall due over the 1984-87 period. We now have an interview on this with Jerzy Malec, first deputy chairman of the Handlowy Bank:

[Begin recording] [Grazyna Zielinska] Mr Chairman, what was the atmosphere like during the 2 days of debates?

[Malec] I can say one thing: It was a group that cooperated with itself and there was no fighting in it. [sentence as heard] This is undoubtedly quite a difference if you compare it with the atmosphere 1 year ago. It seems to me that both sides -- that is to say, the working group of the Western banks and the Polish side -- drew conclusions from last year's negotiations and from the course of this year's negotiations that made it possible, in an excellent way, to resolve the problem.

[Zielinska] What are the conditions of the new agreement?

[Malec] It is premature to speak of details and figures. However, I can say that the agreement that has been concluded generally resolves the issue of Polish indebtedness to the commercial banks. This means that there is no problem of Polish debts on the bank markets.

The philosophy of rescheduling our payments was also thoroughtly changed. This means that the form, extent, and conditions of the credits granted to us are completely different from the conditions stipulated by the three previous agreements.

[Zielinska] As far as the financial agreements concluded with this group of banks thus far is concerned, what are the new aspects that the new agreement brings about?

[Malec] The main thing is that the presently signed agreement makes it possible for us to return to normal cooperation with the banks -- like the cooperation that existed in the seventies. On the other hand, this agreement gives us certain financial means which, if used properly, will make it possible to resolve the question of our payments over subsequent years. Thirdly -- and this, I think, is rather important -- from the technical viewpoint, the extent of these means is relatively higher than the previous agreements provided for; it was found possible to lower the costs of all kinds of

In my view again, it proves that the Western banks showed realism in the situation; that Poland's punctuality in servicing the past three agreements made it possible for the banks to offer easier conditions.

All in all, this makes it possible to increase imports over the next 18-20 months and this should yield a result that exports will grow.

[Zielinska] To what extent did these banks come to our aid?

[Malec] The commercial banks, following the first stages of last year's rather hard negotiations, showed full understanding of our situation. I think it is as well to emphasize that, as I recalled, there was no fighting in these negotiations -- instead we had cooperation. There were attempts to jointly arrive at a solution acceptable to both sides.

My personal impression is that the precise and timely servicing and fulfilling of the previous agreements helped the Western commercial banks to gain this understanding of the Polish situation. Therefore, I am grateful to the representatives of the Western banks for their understanding of the situation of for showing goodwill so that a joint solution can be found. [end recording]

## Eichler, Malec Interviewed

LD281252 Warsaw PAP in English 1100 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Warsaw, 27 April -- Western bankers, representing Poland's creditor commercial banks, and officials of the Polish Bank Handlowy today signed agreement on rescheduling the Polish debt to those banks, falling due between 1984-87. After the signing PAP interviewed heads of both delegations, Gabriel Eichler of the Bank of America and head of the banks' Economic Committee for Cooperation With Poland, and Jerzy Malec, first deputy president of the Polish Bank Handlowy. Gabriel Eichler said that the exact figure of 1984-87 payments to be rescheduled amounts to 95 per cent. Poland will pay the remaining five per cent within 1984 and 85. Thus the conditions remain identical as in the previous agreement.

Another issue taken up were credits -- the money Poland needs to develop her export production and facilitate trade with foreign partners. It is hard to give an exact figure, because what we are talking about now are the shares that each bank would have in such credits. Anyway, arrangements pertaining to those credits are more flexible and simpler than in the 1982 agreement, said Mr. Eichler. He evaluated current negotiations as ones not marked by [word indistinct] difference. He made the following points: The banks could never agree on something that would be unacceptable for the Polish side or would disregard the realities of the Polish economic situation. It would not lie in the banks' interest.

It is important to understand that we (the banks' representatives now in Poland) are not authorises to speak for all the banks. True, that we do not represent the interests of a group of banks, but we have neither the right nor the power to oblige any bank to sign this agreement. So we had to agree on such terms as we think the banks can accept and sign. The negotiations were not ones held by opponents. Their aim was to implement the (?postulates) from both sides, and this is why I am satisfied at the outcome.

Mr Eichler said that personally he is under the impression of the way the Polish side conducted the talks. The economic situation of your country is hard, and Poland still has her obligations ensuing from the previous three agreements with commercial banks. One can see in Poland a strong political will to meet her financial obligations despite economic problems, he said. He said further: I believe that the banking community is relatively [words indistinct] over Poland's realistic approach.

Because of that political will of Poland, if all other problems are solved relatively smoothly, I think that normalization in Poland will take place much earlier than in those states where such political will is lacking. Asked if in his opinion the signing of the agreement may contribute to an earlier starting of talks on the government-guaranteed credits, Mr Eichler replied: These are two separate issues. Guaranteed credits are influenced by political developments, which is something we are trying to leave aside and eliminate from our talks. To many governments it is clear that commercial banks gain when they negotiate with Poland, and lose when they do not. This sort of an understanding may have an impact on intergovernmental talks, but of course there are no direct connections or relations here. Governments have no influence on us, and we are not going to influence governments.

First Deputy President of the Polish Bank Handlowy Jerzy Malec told PAP: "I think we [words indistinct] a maximum, considering both sides' divergent demands at the outset. My feeling is that the agreement will allow us to return to the king of cooperation with the banks that we had under normal conditions.

"Of course, it will take time, but what helps is that we have met all the obligations provided in the previous three agreements. Poland's filling of the present accord should become another reassertion of the standing of the country's capabilities on financial markets, and gives us a chance to return to those markets."

Mr Malec gave the following details of the agreement: "Principal payments will be delayed by ten years, with a five-year respite. There will be new credits, and there will be some improvement in credit costs as compared with the 1982 and 1983 agreements. These are the most important conditions." He said that the agreement gives the Polish economy a possibility to make fresh purchases, but benefits will depend on how these purchases are used. A proper use of the credits may double their worth, in terms of the value of production which they would facilitate, he explained.

Asked if the agreement would improve Poland's international standing, Mr Eichler replied in the affirmative. Said he: It can do so, because there is a chance for normalization of banking relations, and we have taken the first significant step towards it. Normalization of relations with banks will improve the conditions of Poland's exchange with foreign partners and will have a positive impact on Poland's domestic economy.

Jerzy Malec agreed with that view, adding: "Practically all the matters pertaining to Poland's indebtedness to commercial banks have been solved in the legal sense. Besides, Poland's world ranking will keep changing and getting better as the country's economic situation is going back to normal."

Comparing Poland's debts to the debts of other nations, Mr Eichler said: "The problem of Poland's debt is relatively smaller, but is makes this problem no less important either to the banks or to Poland's."

There is one very important issue here, namely that of proportion between the size of Poland's debt and her yearly exports. Unfortunately, the position of your country in this respect is not good. Poland's exports to dollar-paying countries are four times less than the size of the debt.

Jerzy Malec agreed with that, adding that actually the $27 billion dollars of the Polish debt are not this much compared to potential production capacity of the Polish industry. "We must realize that, as a state, we are still not export-oriented enough."

"If we manage to get to a level that we are heading for, namely when credit repayment takes betwee 25-30 percent of our yearly exports, it will be a completely normal standard. We must now concentrate on raising exports. Obviously, we need imports if we want to get at that, but this is what we are trying to secure now. However, these must not be consumer imports, but imports of materials and components which we will use to manufacture goods both for exports and for home market. Only inthe next stage, when exports go up enough, can we import consumer goods as well," Jerzy Malec said.

## Bank Council Assesses Plan

LD282218 Warsaw PAP in English 2012 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Warsaw, 28 April -- An important financial event was the signing in Warsaw of an agreement rescheduling the Polish debt to Western commercial banks falling due between 1984-87. A representative for the Bank of America, Gabriel Eichler, said the object of negotiations was to reschedule 95 per cent of this part of the Polish repayments, five per cent remaining for Poland to pay in 1984 and 1985.

As to credits, needed by Poland to expand export production and facilitate foreign trade, the present agreement's terms are more flexible and [words indistinct] those contained in the 1982 agreement. Another important event in Warsaw was the meeting of the Council of Polish Banks which assessed the implementation of the credit plan and the balance of the population's incomes and expenses for 1983.

The effectiveness of banking policy was assessed as insufficient in many areas. The council spoke firmly in favour of introducing all the principles of the tight money policy this [words indistinct] priority in crediting will go to projects which will reflect the preferences of the 1984 Annual Plan and those promising big productivity (?and) prospects for lower costs and better quality, it was said.

## 'TRANSCRIPT' OF URBAN'S 17 APR PRESS CONFERENCE

AU261406 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Apr 84 p 4

['Transcript' of press conference given to foreign journalists by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 17 April]

[Excerpts] Minister Jerzy Urban: I would like to correct two pieces of information. REUTER reported on 16 April, I think, that the government had admitted that political prisoners in four penal institutions were on hunger strike. I assume this refers to my last conference. I was misunderstood. I have not given any information at all this year on any hunger strikes in four penal institutions. On the contrary, I have officially denied reports about alleged hunger strikes inside the penal institutions at Leczyca and Strzelin. Two prisoners have been refusing meals at Barczewo since 23 March. Therefore, they are being fed artificially. Besides these, one other prisoner is refusing food every day, which makes a total of three in Barczewo. In Braniewo, two cells with prisoners are alternately refusing meals. One cell contains 7 persons, and the other 3, in other words a total of 10 persons at Braniewo. That is how the situation really is.

Also false is REUTER's information that only two persons have been tried and sentenced for political offenses since martial law, and that this occurred in July. The figure of 61 condemned persons which I gave is the number of persons sentenced to unconditional deprivation of freedom for political offenses. However, trials are also taking place involving less serious offenses, and for these offenses the courts are meting out suspended prison sentences or other forms of punishment. I am saying all this because of speculations which were voiced at the last press conference about a stop to trials and sentences in these matters. Drawing conclusions as to the sentences meted out by courts, the continuation of trials, and the number of persons inside penal institutions is wrong. Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: Perhaps we could settle the question of trials since July. Could you tell us how many political trials there have been since the lifting of martial law?

J. Urban: No, I do not have the figures with me. These figures are only obtainable to the extent that cases in this category can be distinguished from others. There have been a certain number of trials, and trials are still being held. In any case, the press reports on this.

Dominque Garot, AFP: What is the actual number of political prisoners right now? How many of them have been tried and how many have not? Could you give us the number of arrests for political reasons since the beginning of the year?

J. Urban: I have the figures for 9 April. On that day there were 348 persons in custody and 61 persons sentenced for political offenses, which makes a total of 409.

Antoni Kopecky, Czechoslovak radio: Do you already know about any reaction to the publishing of the white paper on U.S. policy toward Poland?

J. Urban: The reaction I have encountered comes from the press. So far I have only come across brief reports in the American press saying that such a paper has appeared and sometimes commenting on its contents. I do not expect any fuller commentaries for the time being because only a small number of copies of this book have been published. Also, time is needed in order to study it.

I believe that echoes on this book will be louder later on. Very many editorial offices and agencies have given information on this book and its contents. But there has been no official reaction from the United States. The State Department spokesman has avoided comment on this book.

Dominque Garot: You did not answer my question about the general number of arrests this year. I am asking this question because one might judge from the figures concerning political prisoners which you regularly give us that the number of such prisoners has been steadily decreasing for several weeks and that no new arrests are being made. Therefore, I wish to know if there have indeed been no new arrests for a certain period of time. Also, what is the total number of arrests that have been made, including of those persons who have been released from prison since the beginning of the year, and how many persons have been released before trial?

J. Urban: I have already stated the number of people arrested. On 9 April, there were 348 such people. That is the number of people who have been remanded in custody, suspected of political offenses. I do not know how many of them were arrested before 1 January and how many after that date because I have never been interested in such figures. I am not suggesting that there are no new arrests. There are. The number of arrests is, in fact, the number of people who have been remanded in custody. I must also explain to you that I am not facing a Sejm commission here as a representative of the Prosecutor General's Office, which explains these matters. Therefore, the idea that I am supposed to present figures is false, and you wrongly interpret both the function of a correspondent and that of a government spokesman. All I do is given information, in this case information which is too precise. Unfortuantely, I cannot say that the agency you represent gives precise information on Poland.

I must speak about the activity of your predecessor, the infamous Mr Castex. In one of his dispatches on 5 April, Mr Castex gave six pieces of false information, and his dispatch was not a long one. I will quote: "School principals in Lublin have received instructions to prepare lists of the most religious students and teachers." This is of course complete nonsense. There have been no such instructions. The second piece of information: "In other cities, the administration is demanding that lecturers sign a declaration that they recognize the secular nature of education." Such declarations have not been demanded anywhere, not even in Mietno. Despite what has been written, declarations like this have never been presented for signing. "In Torun, all college principals have been asked to fill out party questionnaires under the supervision of local party aktivists concerning attendance of church services. Consequences threaten principals if they give false information." Neither in Torun nor anywhere else have school principals been asked to fill out such questionnaires, and all this information about consequences and about the method of dealing with affairs is -- it is difficult to put it any other way -- lies. Further: "At the latest meeting of the joint government-episcopate commission on 26 March, the government side demanded that the Episcopate prepare accurate lists of people taking part in pilgrimages." Wrong. The government has not demanded any such lists. This is nonsense. Next: "The latest meeting of the mixed commission has reached a deadlock, with no new date for another meeting." The talks did not reach a deadlock, and besides it is not the custom to fix new dates for a meeting. This used to be done during the years 1980 and 1981, but it turned out to be impractical, and since then dates for a next meeting are not fixed. They are only fixed when the need for another meeting arises.

I am speaking about all this because I really would like relations between the government spokesman and AFP to be free of such blatant distortions on the part of the agency, and at the same time I would like them to be free of exageration when it comes to the Polish state authorities which I represent.

Dominique Garot: I wonder if you could tell us of any new events surrounding the expected trials of the Workers Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR] and Solidarity leaders.

J. Urban: No, I have nothing new to say on this matter.

Sylvia Odoriz, EFE: News has come from Moscow that the next CEMA session will take place in Moscow in June. Could you give us any further information?

J. Urban: This meeting has been in preparation for a long time. Intensive preparations are also being made in Poland. An expression of these preparations was the recent visit to Moscow by Deputy Premier Manfred Gorywoda, chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission. It is foreseen in these talks that the method of coordinating long-term economic plans will be settled in such a way that our economies may complement each other. Also foreseen is discussion on many matters of fundamental importance to current economic cooperation, such as further supplies of fuel and energy to the economy and the kind of cooperation which would guarantee rapid technical progress in the most important sectors of industry.

Another topic is a reduction in Poland's participation in the international division of labor and in CEMA trade. We wish to find ways of quickly restoring to Poland the much more prominent place it had before. One can expect the importance of this meeting to suit the level at which the member countries will be represented.

Sylvia Odoriz: But you have not answered the first part of my question, namely the exact date of the meeting.

J. Urban: I have not answered because I do not know the date. It will be announced at the appropriate time.

Dominique: Excuse me for asking one more question, Mr Minister. What is the government stance toward the numerous recent petitions asking for special political prisoner status to be applied to political prisoners?

J. Urban: The government is not working on such a status. This issue has been settled by means of general regulations concerning all prisoners on the one hand, and on the other hand by a directive by the minister of justice, who has granted persons convicted of political offenses certain special rights. Of these, the right for these prisoners to have separate cells from other prisoners stands out, and another right is that these prisoners are not subject to compulsory work. They may work if they want to. Finally, the minister of justice has given prison directors the power to grant various individual concessions depending on a prisoner's conduct.

So neither the government nor the Ministry of Justice foresee any changes to the status of prisoners convicted of political offences, although as far as I know work is proceeding on another change -- a general reform of the rules governing prison sentences.

Sylvia Odoriz: Could you tell us if there are still any hunger strikes in prisons?

J. Urban: I have already answered that question. You missed it, but you will find out from your colleagues.

Christopher Bobinski: Is a top-level Polish-Soviet meeting expected in May? If so, where?

J. Urban: I have no information on this.

## URBAN ON PROPAGANDA, PRESS-GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

PM260816 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 9 Apr 84 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Jerzy Urban, government press spokesman, by GLOS SZCZECINSKI correspondent Jerzy Kocowski; date and place not given]

[Text] Kocowski: Minister, we all know the consequences of perturbations in the system of information flow between the leadership and the masses. Continuous flow of adulatory information received by the leadership and information maintaining that each step taken by the latter is the optimal one and that each of its decisions is met with universal approval is conducive to the emergence of many mythical beliefs. The leadership comes to believe in the infallibility of its verdicts and decisions, and it drifts into complacency. Are you not detecting some evidence now of a fresh danger posed by this kind of optimism?

Urban: In my opinion, all potential perturbations affecting the sphere of information can be divided into two cateogires: Some of them are caused by a system exclusively geared toward transmitting information which the informants believe the recipients wish to hear. The other type of danger arises as a result of the manner in which reliable information is received and interpreted, namely a rejection -- or a less willing reception -- of unfavorable tidings. I believe that the lesson in history experienced by our party and state leadership ensures that both these dangers will be kept at bay for a long time to come.

The system of passing on signals is currently based on several independent information channels predominantly geared to detecting unfavorable signals. In my opinion, this system is not without its faults. The deficiency I see in it consists in its more or less equal treatment of all signals containing information of variable reliability and significance. It has often happened, for example, that a lose, isolated remark voiced at some public forum has been suggested as representing the voice of public opinion on a par with the findings of reliable, methodological surveys carried out on representative samples of a cross-section of the entire population, obtained fully in accordance with prescribed procedure. Persistent occurrences of a given phenomenon are signalled by constant repetition of one type of information. This, on reception, creates an illusion of the importance of this particular piece of information. However, recurring events are not always necessarily important, nor oft-repeated opinions, conclusive. The large amount of processed information impedes the process of carrying out its synthesis. A system of graduation is lacking here.

I also perceive certain dangers of a political nature -- namely, the fact that occasionally various local instances tend to resurrect the practice of selecting the information to be passed on to their headquarters in a way designed to give favorable evidence of what is going on in their local circles. Thus, it appears that the tendency to embellish what is being done and how it is done is gradually making a comeback here and there.

I will give you the following example: The party committee of a certain enterprise took offense at the fact that the enterprise was named as one of the places where illegal Solidarity structures were operating. On the one hand their reaction constituted a heartening symptom demonstrating that an opinion of that kind is treated as insulting and provokes vigorous and emotionally expressed denials. Since, however, the information was reliable, the demonstration of resentment also constitues an alarm signal pointing to a revival of the old syndrome of "even if something like that does not take place here, it ought not to be mentioned in public."

I am afraid of the mechanism of suppression, of trying to minimize and gloss over things which are undesirable, because tendencies of this kind are extremely dangerous.

I wish to say that the suspicions occasionally expressed by our citizens that our central authorities do not know about some important issues, that they are not well informed, are quite unfounded. There are ample sources of information. Especially important among them are the very frequent visits of government representatives to work enterprises and their meetings with representatives of social bodies, as well as the letters and press reports -- these last prepared, among others, by our bureau.

Kocowski: You have, nevertheless, criticized our information system. Does this indicate that persistent repetition of the old mistakes we are familiar with from, say, the "propaganda of success" period [seventies] is still taking place now?

Urban: Definitely not. The days when the authorities used to close their eyes and listen to sweet lullabies are gone forever. That was what I spoke about at the beginning, and as regards the "propaganda of success" period.... In my opinion propaganda in the 1970's was very limited in the way it presented things, but all the same I disagree with the thesis which states that it was a "propaganda of success." Its predominant motive was not one of extreme optimism. The predominant motives were critical, and they grew in intensity toward the end of the 1970's. In fact everything that was subsequently said about that decade could already be found -- although expressed more guardedly -- in critical publications appearing at the very time. They did not, of course, appear in all the papers and periodicals.

Let us talk directly about the shortcomings of the current propaganda system rather than about the repetition of old mistakes. In my opinion, propaganda has been assigned the function of stating the policy line to an unreasonable degree. I am thinking here about publications which are not really addressed to the wide public, and which appear for motives other than influencing people's political awareness. They follow from particular customs and rituals and are presented in the interest of preserving the customary balance of the subject matter; they do not serve to define the policy line or to stress particular points in it. It would be sufficient to use TRYBUNA LUDU, RZECZPOSPOLITA, and NOWE DROGI to define the policy line and pursue other, internal party goals -- whereas television, with its news programs, as well as such publications as EXPRESS WIECZORNY and POLITYKA should not be burdened with an obligation to clearly formulate the party line. All this time I have been talking about things which are quite difficult to understand, since there is no recognized division into publications designed to carry the policy line and those for the people.

Kocowski: Has something changed, then, in the current propaganda system thanks to you and your colleagues at the Government Press office?

Urban: Regardless of whether we adopt the 1970's or the 1960's as our point of reference, the progress has been colossal. In those times the authorities used to ration information very strictly and dress it up a lot. They did not let society into their problems and to a large extent they were operating in hiding and from hiding. The present set of problems [as published] stands in complete contrast to that.

We can also assume as our point of reference the year 1981, when the processes of the massive hoodwinking of the people, of producing myths and encouraging irrational attitudes were taking place. The razor-sharp weapon of the press was seized by crazed mythomaniacs.

Ideas were being rammed into people's heads to make them believe, for instance, that once the courts register something or other then the ham rolls would always be available to every single citizen, and once the whole extent of economic power is given over to self-management bodies in enterprises then a state of full felicity and affluence would immediately come about and our country would come to resemble another Japan -- and so on. Two vague terms: accord and renewal were destroying realistic reasoning and annihilating concrete political thinking. Millions of people allowed themselves to be persuaded of something akin to the belief that universal bliss will prevail as soon as a black cockerel is slaughtered at midnight at the crossroads. Compared with that period, our present propaganda constitutes a return to rational reasoning.

I think that we have also achieved considerable progress in comparison with the year 1982, since at that time propaganda was strictly subordinated to the order introduced by martial law -- which made it uniform, restricted in its scope and intentions, and well-regulated, that is, serving just one single goal. It performed a role of great consequence, that of undermining the lies and myths of 1981.

And so each of our points of reference bears favorable witness to the current condition of our system of information and persuasion -- which does not mean that I consider it to be perfect, or even adequately satisfactory.

As to the question whether the work done by my colleagues and myself influences favorably the modification of the propaganda system currently in operation, I flatter myself that it does indeed influence it, and that it does so in no mean way, although our contribution is only a fragment of the whole process.

We are carrying out a political principle stipulating that power should operate on an open scene, and we are looking for different ways of making the scene open. I believe that we have succeeded in shattering certain taboos and accustomed attitudes, to reduce certain inhibitions and to alter certain customs which obtain throughout the rest of the world. To give you an example, I have never heard of another country where journalists would be able to take part in government sessions. In our country they do this as a rule. Naturally enough, these sessions are not open to all journalists. Those who take part in them are people we can trust, who cooperate with us on a permanent basis, and who will never -- either on purpose or unintentionally -- reveal any state secrets or divulge information about our internal governmental disputes to the public. The government, in its turn, is a working body which must be given favorable conditions to be able to work out its policy unhampered by any external obstacles and subsequently to present it to the public in the form of a joint decision. To some of our sessions we invite large group of journalists -- this being a procedure which departs even more from the customary observance elsewhere in the world.

Our press conferences -- especially those given for foreign correspondents -- are also unique in their format. Nowhere in the West can representatives of the foreign press attack a government spokesman so freely, from any angle they may wish to choose and for as long as they want, being at the same time aware that each of them is guaranteed the right to speak. Nowhere else are the transcripts of such conferences published by anyone, and the person who gives the conference and represents the authorities is never required to answer questions of such detailed nature -- questions which should often be addressed to a police authority spokesman instead.

I recently watched some recording of press conferences given by President Reagan. He is available to journalists for 30 minutes. He only allows the selected persons to speak, and his answers to all the questions that are asked are carefully prepared beforehand.

This means that a scenario is prepared in advance for every such conference, and it all gives the impression of a stage production. He hardly ever allows a foreign correspondent to speak. To some of the questions he gives no answers at all, and never bothers to explain why. He simply says what he wants to say, and the conferences are organized more for his benefit than for that of their other participants.

I often hear the accusation that during my press conferences for foreign correspondents I give my platform over to the political adversary, allowing myself to be placed in the position of a defendant and put under the crossfire of ruthless questioning. I am also charged with the fact that frequently the Polish public only gets to know about certain Polish events and issues through the questions asked by the Western correspondents who are hostile to us. Conferences organized for foreign correspondents are also open to a sizable group of Polish correspondents, and their reports are immediately sent out nationwide. Once each month I also give similar conferences designed exclusively for our domestic correspondents. In my opinion conferences given for foreign correspondents are not meant primarily to inform the world. Their aim is mainly to refute the many false reports and malicious comments which circulate through our country in the form of hearsay and whispered disclosures as a result of the activity carried out by hostile broadcasting centers.

After the introduction of martial law Western correspondents used exclusively the information -- or, rather, misinformation -- passed on to them by the opposition. Today, although they are still using that source, they also have to take note of what we tell them. In any case, I have observed a gradual growth of confidence in my person as a source of information even among those correspondents who are the most hostile toward us.

When we are silent, they wrote: "According to a reliable Solidarity source yesterday 100 people were executed by a firing squad in Plock -- and we believe the source." Later, it went as follows: I said: "It is not true that 100 people were executed in Plock yesterday, but it is true that one woman sprained her ankle there." I am, of course, reducing it to absurdity here, but my intention is to show the mechanism of the thing. They, in turn, would then say: "According to our information 100 people were shot in Plock yesterday. The government press spokesman has denied this and stated that only one woman sprained her ankle there." The picture of Poland as a place of terrible repressions has become relativized in the eyes of their readers. Today they are rather unlikely to report an absurdity like the one about our make-believe Plock shootings if I deny it. This is because they have found out for themselves that I speak the truth and that I would admit it openly if something really did happen in our country, even if my interpretation of the event were to differ from their own. And so, when I deny that something has taken place, they will either not report the glaring falsehood at all or else amend it somehow in their subsequent report.

Kocowski: How do you assess the government's reactions to the views and opinions expressed by the press, to the initiatives taken by it, and in particular to the directions of press criticism? Is the latter taken into account in the work of the government, and if so, to what degree?

Urban: Our government leadership is regularly informed about the more important critical texts and about everything on which the press criticism is focused in the given period, through the Government Press Office and the Public Opinion Survey Center. Press criticism constitutes one of the more important signals that there is something wrong taking place in a given area of concern, or in a specific case.

The Government Press Office issues daily -- and also weekly -- internal bulletins of the critical comments published in the press, including also those appearing in papers published outside Warsaw.

The bulletins are, naturally, only a selection of the most significant critical articles or reports, presented in the form of synopses or selected quotations. In connection with some of those the prime minister and the deputy prime ministers immediately issue instructions addressed to the relevant organizational structures -- often those responsible for control -- recommending that the reported phenomena be closely investigated, the stated facts verified, and the appropriate action taken. After this is done, the government leadership is notified about the procedure and the method of eliminating the irregularities. This is followed -- unfortunately, not yet on each occasion -- by a reply to the criticism.

Kocowski: It is the duty of every journalist to promote a particular attitude toward facts, a specific style of thinking based on a rational assessment of reality. In your opinion, has this obligation been met in the past and is it being fulfilled by journalists today in accordance with that principle?

Urban: To start with, here is a little historical reflection. In my opinion our journalists in their professional milieu suffered particularly shattering experiences as a result of the recent events. First of all they were made to carry the feeling of some fundamental guilt for the state of affairs in the seventies and for what followed as a result of that. Then, after some of them -- acting out of their excessively naive and gullible beliefs -- began to launch a generalized attack against the people's power, proclaiming the salutary role that Solidarity was supposed to perform for the good of the country, and after the facts then gave the lie to that idea, they experienced their second great disappointment in a short span of time.

The eruption of passionate press criticism in the years 1980 and 1981, combined with some journalists abandoning the ideals they had previously embraced, changing abruptly the orientation of their beliefs and attitudes and jumping hastily -- as it were -- onto a train that was going in a direction opposite to the one they had taken previously, but still rolling on the same track -- thus threatening a collision -- all these forced those responsible for propaganda to put into operation certain mechanisms designed to protect the interests of the state against this kind of destructive results of the political antagonism displayed by the press and leading our society to a departure from any real appreciation of our internal realities -- or international realities. A majority of those who had adopted those attitudes of extreme hostility have since left journalism. Many of them were exceptionally able and talented, and their departure has resulted in an impoverishment of the profile of the whole press milieu. But their leaving was dictated by the most essential principles of political selection which must be applied in such circumstances. All this was not without its effect on the present state and condition of our journalistic community. I think that both the depth and the temperature of our life in the sphere of ideas and politics are at present a little insufficient, which finds its significant reflection in the level of our current publications, many of which are superficial in nature. Debates on social, economic, or political issues, carried out by the editorial staff and other contributors of various papers, have become a well-regulated area of our professional brief. I feel a certain nostalgia for the times when, for my generation, our social life was brimming over with difficult, weighty, serious debates -- frequently continuing well into the night -- when there were no division lines, or barriers, between one's private concerns and one's professional commitment. Today these barriers seem to be very strong.

I would say that the current political debate which is going on in the journalistic circles is hardly a disinterested one -- I mean that it is concerned with concrete matters of a given moment, with particular events, and with the topics of the day. It is a debate in which many views on a number of aspects of the contemporary life of the Polish people are presented and often clash with one another, but which has no broader, overall dimensions. It is a good thing that the time has come for cool and rational attitudes on our side of the barricade, but I think I may be permitted a little grumble and an expression of my senile hankerings after that lost climate.

## INTERIOR OFFICIAL ON COUNTERINTELLIGENCE

AU251430 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Apr 84 p 4

[Interview given by Division General Wladyslaw Pozoga, undersecretary of state for internal affairs, to Daniel Lulinski: "In Defence of Socialist Poland"; date and place not given]

[Text] Lulinski: Comrade General, our readers are interested in the protection of the state's vital interests and of citizens' security. That was the reaction to the previous interview with you which was published in TRYBUNA LUDU on 24 August, 1981. A lot of water has flowed in the Vistula since then. As supervisor of the work of the counterintelligence, how could you describe the Security Service's present activities to counteract Western intelligence services?

Pozoga: The work of the Security Service, including that of counterintelligence, always stems from the current development of the international and domestic situation. TRYBUNA LUDU readers are able to monitor both situations; they can monitor the first because of your articles, and they can monitor the second through personal involvement in it. As we can see, the world situation is not improving. It is still very dangerous. This is as a result of the politics of the U.S. Administration, which is still banking on military strength, on achieving military superiority, and on imposing its own views on other nations.

Need I add how strongly we Poles can feel this in all spheres of life?

Lulinski: Of the eight "leading principles" of his policy of strength and terror, which he expounded at Georgetown University on 6 April, President Reagan gave second place to widescale intelligence -- "accurate, fast, and full information describing the effectiveness of policy." How do you construe this statement, Comrade General?

Pozoga: On account of the domestic situation and its position among the socialist countries, Poland has been and still is a target of particularly intense intelligence activity by the United States and some NATO countries. President Reagan himself seems to be warning us against ignoring this threat, in the immediate future as well. Indeed, intelligence activity is the essence of the United States' entire aggressive policy against us, which is visible in the political, economic, and programmatic arenas.

The CIA and the special services of some Western countries cooperating with it have been supporting with all the means at their disposal the aim of snatching Poland away from the socialist community and setting up a bridgehead, which in their opinion would start the erosion and dismemberment of the world socialist system and would turn our country into a "Lebanon."

Poland is the subject of special interest by hostile intelligence services as an important defense component of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. Imperialist intelligence services have intensified their observance of our defense capability.

This is connected with the commenced installation of new American first strike nuclear weapons in the FRG and other NATO countries, weapons that are also targeted on Polish cities. Atlantic intelligence services -- their agencies in some Warsaw embassies and their paid agents -- are making heated attempts to create additional new targets of nuclear annihilation. In peacetime, it is difficult for the average person to imagine the homicidal destructiveness of a spy who makes our city, factory, or district the target of missiles destroying all human life and most human achievements.

Last year we noticed a considerable growth in the infiltration of our defense installations by Western intelligence compared to 1982. Not only military diplomats of some NATO countries have taken part in this infiltration, but also their colleagues from civilian circles of diplomats. We notice an increase in the scope of the tasks demanded of agents. We have given the public examples of this many times, for instance we have shown on TV "diplomats" who had been caught red-handed by our counterintelligence, as well as arrested agents. I wish to stress that the anti-Polish strategic goals of the imperialist special services have not changed. It is only certain tactics in their activity that are changing. They are trying to use more elastic methods. They are using increasingly modern technical resources stemming from electronics, physics, or chemistry. Espionage communications are experiencing a technological revolution. A satellite network connected with the telegraph and with radio stations is being used to communicate espionage information.

Lulinski: Besides military and defense matters, what are intelligence services particularly interested in inside Poland? What are the present priorities in their infiltration work?

Pozoga: An agency receives the task to gain detailed information about economic progress and on any signs of Poland's emergence from the crisis, as well as on tension, difficulties, and signs of dissatisfaction. Imperialist intelligence services monitor the influence of the economic restrictions applied against Poland. This they do in order to continue our country's international isolation and exacerbate its difficulties. They are also interested in the extent of the comprehensive aid given to Poland by the USSR and the other socialist countries because this aid neutralizes the effects of the Western restrictions. They are keenly interested in the entire structure of Church-state relations. They penetrate and instruct the political underground, make it easy for the underground to receive financial and technical assistance from the West, and support the anti-Polish opposition by facilitating its contacts with subversive radio stations such as Radio Free Europe and by writing columns in the Paris KULTURA and in other Polish-language periodicals published in the West available to the underground. They organize channels for shipping these publications to Poland. Centers of political subversion are sometimes financed by intelligence through secret channels, and intelligence institutions often avail themselves of the agency of Western scientific and cultural institutions, and also of trade unions. Sometimes, an innocent-seeming and even noble emblem or motto of some foundation or organization conceals an intelligence agency involved in this very agency.

Lulinski: I think our readers would be interested in a current example. Minister Kiszczak spoke in the Sejm about the arrest of two more agents. Could you give further details?

Pozoga: There are many such current examples, and really we can only give current examples. Minister Kiszczak spoke about the arrest last year of a CIA agent, Jack Jurzak, a doctor in technical science and a lecturer at the Bielsko-Biala branch of the Technical University of Lodz. His liaison man, Norbert Adamaschek, who had arrived specially from the FRG, was also arrested. Adamaschek emigrated in 1976 from Poland to the FRG, where he was recruited by the CIA.

Lulinski: As an FRG citizen resident in the FRG, was he recruited by the CIA and not by the West German intelligence service BND [Bundesnachrichtendienst]?

Pozoga: Yes, by the CIA. Just like many others. Besides, we watched his activity for quite a long time. He was a friend of Jurzak's from his student days, and it is he who received instructions from the intelligence service to recruit Jurzak for espionage cooperation. He proposed this cooperation to Jurzak in the spring of 1980 during a vacation in Budapest.

Although investigations are still continuing, one can already say that the CIA trained Jurzak during his numerous official trips to the West, including neutral countries, and that it geared his activity toward military-defense and sociopolitical matters in Poland. Adamaschek maintained contact with him by coming to Poland on official business as an employee of some Western firm. Because of his intellectual assets, high material ambitions, and the ease with which he established contacts, Jurzak was a typical "prospective agent" for the CIA, destined for a serious role after gaining a high position. Before he became an agent he was observed for several years by the CIA, who noticed his weaknesses, his yearning for money, and his unbridled ambitions which were some of the reasons for recruiting him. The procedure for recruiting other agents is similar.

By the way, I wish to say that our observations prove that attempts by foreign intelligence services to induce our citizens traveling to the West to defect or to gain their cooperation are increasing in line with the stabilization in our country and with the opening of scientific-technical, economic, and cultural contacts with the West after a period of freeze because of martial law.

Intelligence services and centers of political subversion are taking advantage of the lax Polish visa regulations in order to involve their agents, liaison men, and instructors in the psychological war on an unheard-of scale, and to establish contact with the anti-Polish underground and the so-called opposition. Shipments of charitable gifts and supplies of food and drugs for various state, social, and cultural institutions are even used for intelligence purposes and to supply the underground with printing equipment, radio apparatus, and funds. We have shown this on TV many times.

Thus, the increased aggressiveness of NATO special services in posing a threat to open personal traffic between Poland and abroad.

Lulinski: We Poles can understand only too well the purpose of espionage information concerning our country's defense capability, and also the purpose of economic information. But many people fail to understand what intelligence services want with other spheres of our political and social life, which are after all wide open.

Pozoga: Intelligence services prepare analyses and assessments. There are a basis on which governments create and justify anti-Polish policy. Sometimes they even use trivial facts and events and various interesting snippets of information for their analyses and assessments. They are interested in the entire situation in Poland, including such matters as society's mood and attitude toward the authorities. Western intelligence services are currently using the most varied information in their subversive-propaganda activity. Propaganda aggression against Poland is taking on increasingly wider dimensions and its forms are becoming increasingly sharp and perfidious. They strike at the most vital interests of all our people and of our state. Only avowed opponents to socialist Poland, professional "communists" blind with hatred for communism, act knowingly with institutions whose purpose is to harm Poland, and this they do in order to satisfy their own inflated ambitions. They go for everything. They sell themselves and are ready to perform every command of their superiors.

Having suffered yet another political defeat, many of them are now in the West, staffing various centers of anti-Polish political subversion. On behalf of foreign inspirators and misusing the Solidarity symbol, they are establishing new foreign structures for battle against socialist Poland.

The failure of the above professional politicos is mirrored in the practical activity of the foreign offices operating behind the Solidarity emblem. Without any scruples or sense of national honor, they are developing wide cooperation with anti-Polish circles in the West, which are ready for any action against our country under the pretext of conducting an anticommunist crusade.

Lulinski: We hear more and more often about divisions and splits among them. What do these entail?

Pozoga: Indeed there are splits. But these do not involve expressed views or programs of action, but personal matters such as the question of who is to have access to uncontrolled financial sources. The struggle for control over foreign funds at Solidarity's disposal has been the cause of numerous structural and personnel alterations among these people. Scandals erupt over financial misuse. Key leaders of these groups, which bear the name trade union structures, even forget about the slogan "solidarism" which they publicly announced previously, and they forget normal human decency when they are faced with the possibility of easily misappropriating funds for their own use and assuring themselves of a good material situation in the West for the future.

Lulinski: Not all of them are abroad. We have conspirators at home. These include people who perform this conspiracy in carpet slippers, sitting before color TV sets and beside freezers filled with goods from Pewex [chain of foreign currency stores in Poland] or surrounded with parcels from charitable institutions. They throw their dollar "opposition funds" left and right.

Pozoga: Yes. For without these people, the others would have no meaning to the foreign superiors. It is not worth spending a red cent [szelag] on them, and yet thousands of dollars are spent. Therefore, many of them have gone "underground," listening to the voices of their superiors. Others have chosen to play the "conspiracy" game, guided by their own rules. Nevertheless, their activity inseparably connects them, without whom they cannot act. Such is the inescapable logic of events. These people dress themselves up in patriotic garb and refer in numerous speeches to the conspiracy carried out during the last war. This is defamation of our past and of our heroic traditions.

In any case, playing at conspiracy leads inevitably to a financial and material dependence on foreign special services which are hostile to us. It leads to the situation where something is exchanged for something else.

These intentions are concealed behind grand words about an aim to create a politically different Poland. But there is only one truth. Comrade and Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski recalled it recently in the interview for the American daily CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR: "There is only one Poland, situated in the center of Europe, socialist, and allied with the Soviet Union and with the socialist countries. Any ideas that a different Poland may be 'thought up' or set up at will are quite simply an illusion."

Lulinski: This reminds me, and I believe many others in my generation as well, of the huge disgrace and misfortune suffered by Western intelligence services and emigre politicos who set up an espionage center in Berg at the beginning of the fifties, at the height of the "cold war"...

Pozoga: It is difficult to avoid this reflection. And it is also difficult to avoid an analogy. A pact signed in 1950 between American intelligence and a "Freedom and Independence delegation" [Freedom and Independence -- an underground political organization during World War II] and the "mutual services" contained in this pact are involuntarily brought to mind. The activities of Freedom and Independence were part of a process that was formed in the fifties as an honest process, based on inescapable facts. I quote from the pact: "The Americans will permit the delegation to establish its cells on territory that comes within U.S. influence to the extent and number necessary to conduct joint work; they will protect it and its workers from any interference by other states...; they will render it complete financial and technical help, as well as issue supplies...in exchange for help in setting up an underground in Poland, running a complete intelligence service, and participation in the psychological war and in subversive-sabotage action."

It emerged from the text of the agreement and from other decisions that the Americans were not banking only and so much on immediate intelligence and subversion-sabotage results as on a long-term creation of a trained and suitably equipped paramilitary organization that, after the Americans had stirred up a war, could play a chief role at the rear of the combat armies as the 5th column. In November 1951, the Americans presented to the delegation "the Vulcan plan" for them to carry out, concerning subversive activity and sabotage on the railroads and in industry. This plan obligated Freedom and Independence to establish and mark bombing targets on the one hand, and step up widescale armed subversion and fratricidal combat on the other.

Lulinski: If I remember right, it all ended with this organization's leadership in Poland surrendering to the security authorities and handing over $1 million that had been intended for "the Vulcan plan," as well as documents, weapons, and various types of equipment. The Polish "underground army," alleged to be numbering 100,000, on which the Americans had placed their hopes so seriously, turned out to be fictitious.

Pozoga: But the analogy does not end there. One can say that our opponent is appearing against the background of Polish history in various colors and guises, but he always has the same foreign backing. He is incorrigible. In the above-mentioned issue, some of the funds passed through the hands of one Irwin Brown, a full-time CIA employee active in France on behalf of the American trade union AFL. Thirty years later, this Irwin Brown's AFL-CIO office in Paris became once again one of the main sponsors of Solidarity in the West and of its aktivists in Poland. Let me recall that one of the main figures behind the above affair was Bliss Lane, former U.S. ambassador to Poland, who has gone down in the history of U.S. diplomacy as an "eminent inspirator and organizer of resistance movements in the socialist countries, especially in Poland."

Lulinski: From what you have said, Comrade General, it emerges that Polish counterintelligence possess good knowledge of the activities and aims of foreign intelligence services toward those citizens of ours who have traveled to the West for various reasons in recent years.

Pozoga: The overwhelming majority of Poles who have extended their stay abroad for one reason or another and have even asked for asylum remain loyal to their fatherland, have not betrayed their country, and -- despite the difficult situation in which they have often found themselves -- have not lost their honor and national conscience. Army General Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, has defined our stance toward these people in the Sejm. Let me recall his words: "Whoever has not deliberately sold his Polishness and personal honor to foreign powers has an open road back to Poland.

It is not the Poles' destiny to wander around foreign countries; their destiny is honest and patriotic service to the nation, here in their own fatherland."

Of course, those who are acting for the sake of harming the Polish state cannot count on such an attitude from the Polish authorities. I mean aktivists in so-called foreign representations of Solidarity and in other centers of political subversion who are steered by foreign intelligence services. These have become a convenient base for the activity of the CIA and of the intelligence services of other NATO states. I need not add that they lie within our sphere of interests. The West Berlin authorities have recently been refusing tens of thousands of Poles residence permits unless they ask for political asylum. Thus, people traveling out of the country for various reasons, mainly to earn money, are forced to adopt the status of political refugees and be at odds with their own country. Intelligence centers are gaining a wider recruiting base thanks to such pressure. It is enough to make the granting of political asylum dependent on appropriate conditions, and then tell the recipient thereof that when one says A, one should also say B.

Lulinski: Comrade General, what are the present connections between the CIA and other NATO intelligence services on the one hand and Radio "Free Europe" on the other?

Pozoga: We unmasked the CIA's role in controlling and financing subversive radio stations such as Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty over a dozen years ago, and I think we did this adequately. Our comrades from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria, and our Soviet comrades have confirmed the same facts through their own activity.

Right now, both radio states are being financed not through the CIA, but directly from U.S. Government funds via the Board for International Broadcasting. Despite this, the role of the special services in directing these centers has increased. In order to avoid going through an entire list of personnel contacts between the CIA and Radio Free Europe, which have of course been faithfully recorded in our files, I will mention only a few of them.

In October 1980, during a time of a growing "Polish crisis" and "Solidarity explosion," the post of director of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty was assumed by a senior CIA functionary who is well known to us, Russell Pool. The previous director of the so-called Polish radio station, Jan Nowak -- Zdzislaw Jezioranski [names appear as published] became an adviser in the U.S. National Security Council. The present director of the Polish station, Najder, carries a death sentence passed in absentia by the Warsaw Military District Court for his espionage activity with the CIA.

Despite its role as a prominent propaganda-subversive mouthpiece, Radio Free Europe continues to be an excellent form of camouflage for various kinds of intelligence work, ranging from the gathering of information, right up to selecting and preparing candidates for cooperation and helping to recruit agents. Through Radio Free Europe, just as through the Paris KULTURA and other subversive centers of this kind, the CIA lets some leaders and aktivists in the antisocialist opposition "earn" money safely, and often quite good money, too. But too many of them say first of all that "pecunia non olet," and then they discover an "idea" to which they devote themselves.

For foreign money and for the sake of foreign interests, Radio Free Europe every day sends instructions for the underground, spreads confusion and disinformation, confuses various groups of society, and tries to destablize the domestic situation and delay the country's economic development.

It also tries to manipulate international opinion toward our country, defaming Poland and its people.

The connections between the CIA and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty are not an isolated case. The USIA and numerous extragovernment institutions such as the already mentioned AFL/CIO and others have also joined in the financing and controlling of similar centers of subversion. The situation is similar in other NATO countries.

Lulinski: This year is the 40th anniversary of your ministry, a public service that has never spared effort and dedication in protecting the state's most vital interests and the security of citizens. On what thoughts do you end this significant period in the activity of Polish counterintelligence, with which you have been personally involved since the very beginning?

Pozoga: The time will come in October this year for a full reflection and assessment, for that month will be our jubilee. What can I say today, referring to our entire conversation and the subjects discussed in it, and above all with reference to the current threat from hostile intelligence services? I can assure you that we have good, educated cadres with great practical experience. These are cadres with deep patriotic and ideological values. They are fully dedicated to the cause of Poland and socialism. They have effectively paralyzed the activity of hostile intelligence services throughout the entire period of People's Poland.

We are cooperating with and receiving active support from the fraternal Warsaw Pact services. We are carrying out joint, internationalist tasks. This enables us to make rational use of our resources, recognize the dangers, and defend Poland's interests already at the doorstep of our country.

Lulinski: Thank you for the interview.

## WALESA INTERVIEWED ON STATUS OF SOLIDARITY

NC281949 Paris AFP in English 1941 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Lyons, France, April 28 (AFP) -- The banned independent Polish trade union Solidarity has been effectively "de-legalized," and its members will "have to find new ways of struggling for its ideals," Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said in a newspaper interview to be published here tomorrow. In the interview with the French daily, PROGRESS DE LYON, Mr Walesa said the union was "faced with jailings, arrests and fines."

"The effectiveness of our action, based on peaceful methods, remains limited," he said, adding that "many exceptional men, who headed excellent organizations, are now in prison." "Some of those men are today on hunger-strikes, putting their lives seriously at risk," he said. "Let it be publicly known," Mr Walesa told the newspaper, "that we need them alive and in good health to carry on the common struggle together." He said he would never take any decision which was not in agreement with the Catholic Church.

## IMPRISONED OPPOSITION FIGURES DENIED VISITORS

NC271807 Paris AFP in English 1802 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Warsaw, April 27 (AFP) -- The Polish authorities have for the past fortnight refused to allow any visits to 11 leading opposition figures in a Warsaw prison, the son of one of the prisoners said today.

Maciej Kuron, son of Jacek Kuron, leader of the clandestine group KOR, said the 11 might have been moved elsewhere for talks with government officials. He said Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski had said "that the 11 would be freed without trial two months ago, during a meeting with communist filmmakers".

Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban has categorically denied that such talks are taking place, and last week reaffirmed that the government's stand on the matter remained unchanged. The government has offered to free the prisoners, but only on condition that they leave Poland "for a time", which the 11 have refused. "If the prisoners had been moved somewhere else to negotiate secretly with the government, I would know," said Edward Lipinski, a founding member of KOR.

Sources close to the banned trade union Solidarity said the 11 prisoners -- four KOR leaders and seven Solidarity members accused of "attempting to plot against the state" -- had been refused visits from their families and lawyers since last Friday. The normal practice was to allow visits twice a week, they said. The Polish authorities have refused to comment on reports that visits have been refused, and on statements by prison wardens that there was a flu epidemic at the prison, or that the prisoners had been moved. But observers here said the government may have decided to show more flexibility towards the prisoners, as many governments, including the United States, have linked an improved human rights record to normalising economic relations and granting new credit to Poland's ailing economy.

Two independent members of Parliament yesterday put forward a motion that the 409 political prisoners currently being held, according to government figures, should be released under an amnesty. The most likely date for this would be July 22, the 40th anniversary of the People's Republic, observers said.

## BRIEFS

JABLONSKI MEETS NEW MONGOLIAN ENVOY -- Warsaw, 28 Apr (PAP) -- Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Polish State Council, received Oldziyhutagiyn Choyjulsuren, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Mongolian People's Republic, who presented his credentials on 28 April at Belweder. Then the Mongolian ambassador was received in a private audience by the chairman of the State Council. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Apr 84 LD]

AMBASSADOR TO BANGLADESH -- Dhaka, 19 Apr -- Poland's Ambassador to the People's Republic of Bangladesh Ryszard Fijalkowski presented here yesterday his credentials to the Republic's President General Hussain M. Ershad. After the ceremony, the president received the ambassador in a private audience. Ryszard Fijalkowski also paid visits to members of the state and economic leadership of the country. During the talks, the sides stressed the will to maintain and develop friendly bilateral relations. Special interest is devoted to the further fast development of economic cooperation and trade exchange. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2007 GMT 19 Apr 84 LD]

COOPERATION WITH KOREA -- Warsaw, 19 Apr (PAP) -- A protocol between the Governments of the PPR and the DPRK on trade turnover and payments in 1984 has been signed in Warsaw. According to the agreement, trade turnover will be more than R57,000,000, an increase of more than 50 percent over 1983. Traditional raw material supplies predominate in imports: magnesite, steel sheet, zinc, and talc. In addition, consumer goods, particularly rubber footwear and chinaware, will be imported. A considerable part of the exports consists of mining machines and equipment, and spares for them. In the raw materials category, Poland will, as in previous years, export coke. The protocol was signed by Deputy Ministers of Foreign Trade Antoni Karas and Song Hui-chol [listed as director of the First Bureau of the DPRK Ministry of Foreign Trade]. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 19 Apr 84 LD]

## UN PROPOSAL ON CODE OF BEHAVIOR DEBATED

AU271956 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1827 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] United Nations (AGERPRES) 27/4/1984 -- Debates on a peaceful settlement of intrastate differences are under way in the special committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on strengthening the role of the organization which examined Romania's proposal on the setting up of a UN commission of good offices, mediation and conciliation.

While underscoring the indissoluble link between the prevention of conflicts and the peaceful settlement of differences, including the creation and use of more adequate instruments to find peaceful solutions through mediation, good offices and conciliation, the Romanian delegation also re-stated Romania's previous proposal on drafting and adopting a universal code of conduct of the UNO, which should include the states' fundamental rights and duties deriving from the generally accepted principles and norms of contemporary international law.

The drafting and adoption of like code would help define a conduct of states to be applied universally and establish relationship of good understanding, cooperation and peace.

Suchlike code would enshrine each state's right to free existence, to national independence and sovereignty, to peace and security and their obligation not to resort to the threat and use of force, directly or indirectly, not to interfere in other states' domestic affairs under any form or any pretext; to solve international disputes and issues by exclusively peaceful means, people's right to decide their fate by themselves, the observance of each state's right to freely choose and develop its political, economic, social and cultural system, in keeping with its own people's will and interests, without any outside interference, as well as other fundamental rights and obligations of states.

The Romanian delegation stresses the outstanding importance of drafting, adopting and strictly observing a like conduct code to maintain international peace and security, to prevent disputes, conflicts and threats to peace.

## DEFENSE MINISTER CABLES DPRK COUNTERPART

AU261332 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Apr 84 p 5

[Text] Colonel General Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has sent a congratulatory cable to Army General O Chin-u, minister of the DPRK Armed Forces, on the 52nd anniversary of the Korean People's Army.

## FORESTRY, INDUSTRIAL UNITS RECEIVE PAY HIKE

AU281529 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1424 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/4/1984 -- As of May first, over 750,000 people working in silviculture, water management, industrial units under the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, other ministries and central bodies as well as under the people's councils, the Central Union of Production, purchase and sale cooperatives, the handicraft cooperatives and other cooperative, communal husbanding, building and other nonproductive services organizations are to benefit by higher pay.

The mentioned raise in the pay of workers will amount to an average 5.5 percent, differentiated by pay categories and stages. The remuneration of operative, productive technical and administrative personnel will go up by 5 percent on the average, differentiated by classes of remuneration.

Concomitantly with the raise in the remuneration, the working personnel in the respective sectors will benefit also by a raise in the share represented by the extra pay for uninterrupted length of service with the same unit. From the old 3 to 10 percent ceilings this extra pay is to go up to new 3 to 15 percent ones, and as of May first, it is to be granted after a minimal three years of continuous work, unlike the previous five-year term. Worth mentioning is the fact that in most cases the rise in the tariff remuneration and in the length of service pay alone lead to an extra income higher than the average remuneration on a national plane in 12 months, while exceeding the tariff remunerations received prior to the raise in all cases. For instance a silvicultural worker having category 4 II will receive annually an extra income worth 2712 lei, a tailor with category 5 II - 2976 Lei, etc.

These extra incomes enable purchase of a larger amount of goods and services and do not affect the compensations and the child benefits. The higher the pay category or the remuneration class, the higher the extra income, namely the growth in the tariff remuneration and in the length of service extra pay.

The new raise of remunerations does not alter the networks for remuneration of the working personnel in the mentioned branches, but on the contrary, within the same branch, they allow greater incomes for those categories of personnel that do special work, thus stimulating people to improve their professional standards and attempt promotion to higher categories.

## CEAUSESCU VISITS BUCHAREST ENTERPRISES

AU271528 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1443 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 27/4/1984 -- RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu continued on Friday, April 27, the working dialogue he started conducting the previous day with collectivities of large economic and research units in Bucharest.

Together with relevant ministers, executives of central departments and managerial staff of the industrial units he visited -- the heavy machine-building enterprise, the national heat engine institute, the "Semanatoarea'' and "Grivita Rosie" works, the RCP general secretary examined essential questions concerning the economic progress of the country in the current stage, and set ways and means to improve the organization of work and production, raise productivity and the technological standards and quality of products, with a view to exemplarily fulfilling the goals set for this year and the present five-year period.

The two-day working visit Nicolae Ceausescu paid to industrial and research units in the capital city was an opportunity to analyse and solve complex questions related to the further development and modernization of key economic sectors.

On the working visit he paid to the capital today, the party general secretary was accompanied by Gheorghe Pana, Marin Enache, Ion Ursu and Silviu Curticeanu.

## SOVIET-U.S. TALKS ON 'HOT LINE' CONCLUDED

LD282011 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1901 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Moscow, April 28 (TANJUG) -- The head of the U.S. delegation to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament was on a visit to Moscow yesterday and today for talks with the head of the Soviet delegation to the conference.

The U.S.-Soviet negotiations on the improvement of teletype and telephone communications between the White House and the Kremlin closed today (Saturday). This is the third U.S.-Soviet meeting since August last year devoted to the improvement of the "hot line."

"The hot line" is intended for the establishment of "direct contact" between the U.S. and Soviet heads of state in case of "increased danger of war" or in situations requiring their "direct and urgent consultations".

## SOVIET DISSATISFACTION WITH REAGAN PRC VISIT

AU271933 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Apr 84 p 3

[Permanent correspondent D. Pesic report from Moscow]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Apr -- Immediately prior to tomorrow's arrival of President Ronald Reagan in Beijing, Moscow's dissatisfaction over the favorable development of Sino-American relations is becoming more and more obvious. "The rapprochement between Beijing and Washington," as this is called here, is being viewed with concern from two basic angles.

The first angle is contained in an analysis of the overall situation in the Far East and Asia, which is now assuming a more expressed dimension of posing a threat to Soviet positions and influence in this strategically very important and sensitive part of the world.

Namely, Moscow's basic assessment is that the United States encourages Japan's militarization so that, in alliance with South Korea, it would create a "semicircle surrounding the Soviet Union" from that side. Hence, there has recently been increasingly sharper criticism of Tokyo's policy and a rapid cooling of Soviet-Japanese relations.

### Concern Over Rejected Condemnation

What now causes an even greater concern for Moscow is the fact that the PRC has not accepted the Soviet condemnation of Japan's militarization, but on the contrary, during Prime Minister Nakasone's recent visit to Beijing, a rapprochement took place, and both sides expressed the view that "a real and main danger comes from the Soviet Union." Following the proclamation of the Chinese "open door policy," Soviet analysists have found a new source of worry. It is assumed that the closer economic links between the PRC and Japan, and the West as a whole, will make possible a considerably more accelerated economic development of the PRC, particularly in the field of advanced technology and along with this, China's military power and influence in the world arena, particularly in Asia, will strengthen.

Because of all this, Moscow sees in Reagan's visit to Beijing an additional danger in this sense.

The possibility of concluding an agreement on Sino-U.S. nuclear cooperation, which is much discussed, along with increased industrial and technological cooperation and investments will undoubtedly lead to a more rapid economic growth by China. The keenness of Soviet criticism is mostly directed precisely against the "open door policy." For instance, in a commentary, IZVESTIYA says that "the United States intends to penetrate the Chinese economy in order to control it. China wants to attract American and Japanese capital in order to develop certain fields of its economy...." Later the conclusion follows -- which is in Moscow increasingly more frequently and more vociferously stressed -- that Beijing will, allegedly, "in return support American strategy and foreign political orientations." The Chinese are also reproached from here that by "preparing a cordial welcome for Reagan they provide an invaluable service to the U.S. President immediately before the elections...." Reagan's mission, Soviet commentators say, represents "an extended line of the military-political cooperation between the United States and China which has been developing in recent years and which both sides want to utilize for their goals...."

Obstacles to Normalization

The second angle of viewing Reagan's visit is to analyze the problem as to what all this will mean for the further development of Soviet-Chinese relations. How complex all this is can be seen from the fact that at the beginning of last fall analyses were made in Moscow which were based on the possibility of a worsening of American-Chinese relations over Taiwan. At that time it was believed in Moscow that the Soviets could offer China the admission to the "triangle of great powers" and participation in the negotiations of the superpowers on disarmament under the assumption that "cooperation between the two socialist countries would exist." However, developments have taken a different turn. China has not shown much inclination for this possibility and in the meantime there have been new impetuses in relations with Washington and, Beijing's foreign political assessments have moved further away from the Soviet positions.

It is interesting that despite the meager results of the so-called "fourth round" of negotiations, or rather consultations, here publicly positive aspects are asserted and it is stressed that it has been agreed without problem that the talks should continue in Beijing in October. It is said that a step forward has been made in cultural exchange and that Vice Premier Arkhipov will travel to China in May when an advancement of economic cooperation will be discussed. However, the fact remains that Beijing will not allow an opportunity for an improvement of relations until the "three well-known obstacles" that are demanded -- Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea, and a reduction of troops on the border and in Mongolia -- are removed. Until all this is done, Chinese diplomats do not want to discuss the other Soviet proposals that an agreement on cooperation on the principles of peaceful coexistence, an agreement renouncing the use of force, and so forth, be reached first.

The strengthening of China's economic and international position, which is now taking place, will objectively strengthen its negotiating position with Moscow, foreign observers in Moscow assess. Because of all this, the Soviets would like to speed up the processes of normalization and it is assumed that, regardless of the outcome of Reagan's visit, they will not on their part aggravate relations with China.

## UPCOMING ARKHIPOV VISIT TO PRC ASSESSED

LD281544 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Now we turn to some changes in Soviet-Chinese relations. Despite major differences in their assessments of current international problems, China and the USSR are making efforts to promote and expand bilateral cooperation.

A most important step in this direction is the agreement between Beijing and Moscow that Ivan Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, should visit China in mid-May. Here is a commentary by Milika Sundic:

[Sundic] Moscow and Beijing have agreed that the first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers is to visit the People's Republic of China. This agreement reflects the desire of both countries to raise their reciprocal contacts at higher level. The initiative has most probably come from the Soviet side, but this in no way diminishes the significance of the visit by Ivan Arkhipov to China. Arkhipov will talk with his hosts about the promotion of bilateral cooperation between the two countries, and probably also about contentious issues which have dogged relations between China and the USSR for years, and about which their deputy foreign ministers are already conducting a dialogue alternatively in Beijing and Moscow.

China is interested in the expansion and promotion of economic cooperation with the USSR, but not political cooperation until all the barriers which are a subject of disagreement between the two countries have been removed. These are the problems of Afghanistan, Soviet support for Vietnam, and the presence of Soviet troops on the borders with China. During talks on the said problems, thus far no progress has been registered although, however, neither China nor the USSR has questioned the continuation of the dialogue at the deputy foreign minister level.

For its part, the USSR takes the view that Moscow's relations with third countries cannot be the subject of any disagreement or talks with Beijing, and as far as broader and other problems are concerned, these can be discussed and, if necessary, at an even higher level.

Of course, relations between the USSR and China are much more complex than this. They are hampered, in addition to the problems which we have already mentioned, by a lack of trust which has built up over the years and which is constantly renewed depending on specific situations. This has been best illustrated in the past few days by the writings of the Soviet press on Reagan's visit to China. China is accused of many things which do not hold water, including the possibility of its being drawn into the strategic plans of the United States in the Far East. China, however, rejects all these and other accusations, maintaining its view that the policies of both the USSR and the United States as superpowers are equally dangerous for world peace. On the other hand, China has not the slightest intention of refraining from criticism of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and that of Vietnam in Kampuchea which is also supported by the USSR. Nevertheless, despite all this, Moscow is pleased that Ivan Arkhipov is to visit China. There is no doubt that regardless of their mutual polemics, it will influence the future course of Sino-Soviet relations. It has even been suggested that the USSR is willing to sell China some nuclear power stations which would, if this proves to be true, make an important contribution to economic cooperation between the two countries. In any case, this will be an interesting and significant visit, particularly if we bear in mind the present juncture of Sino-Soviet relations and everything that is still hampering them.

## U.S. CITIZEN SENTENCED FOR HOSTILE PROPAGANDA

LD271239 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1156 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Bijelo Polje, 27 Apr (TANJUG) -- A five-man district court, chaired by Judge Budimir Kljajevic, today sentenced Muharem Zamaku (35), a porter from New York, to 3 years in prison for the criminal act of hostile propaganda under Article 133, Paragraph 3 of the SFRY Criminal Code and banned him from Yugoslavia for life imediately following the completion of his sentence.

In 1966 Muharem Zamaku left the village of Kuci near Skadar, where he was born, and illegally crossed the Greek-Albanian border. From there he went over to the United States where he obtained American citizenship, got a job as a porter, and established links with an extreme Albanian organization based in New York whose aim is to create a so-called Greater Albania.

In March this year, Zamaku went by plane to Dubrovnik where he hired a Fiat-131 belonging to the Ljubljana office of Rentacar, registration number JU 388-471, and continued his journey toward Prizren and Djakovica, carrying propaganda material. The journey came to an end in Bresnik near Rozaj where a militia patrol arrested him on 15 March. In addition to other propaganda material, he was also carrying a tape recording in Albanian which contained a speech by a member of the extreme organization urging a struggle to create a greater Albania, "vast, from sea to sea and end to end." He had the most modern equipment, with the aid of which he was to "show this material" in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. He made the excuse that he thought this tape was clean and that he intended recording some religious ritual in Prizren. However, it was quickly established that he had first listened to the tape in his flat in New York and that his aim was to break up the brotherhood and unity and change the state organization of our country, all under the slogan of "Kosovo, a Republic."

## USSR-EGYPTIAN RAPPROCHEMENT; PROSPECTS FOR U.S.

LD282341 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] After the Agreement Between Moscow and Cairo to Resume Diplomatic Relations: This is the title of our foreign political commentary. This agreement will substantially change the imbalance which has existed until now in the two superpowers' presence in the Near and Middle East. Milika Sundic comments:

Just over 2 and 1/2 years ago, the Soviet ambassador to Egypt, Polyakov, was expelled from Cairo after having been accused of taking part in a plot against the Egyptian regime. The decision to expel him was peronally endorsed by the former President of Egypt As-Sadat. Polyakov recently visited Cairo as a high-ranking official in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On this occasion, an agreement was reached under which the Soviet Union and Egypt will again exchange ambassadors. This agreement has not come as a surprise. For some time now there have been obvious signs of an improvement in relations between the two countries. By fully normalizing its diplomatic relations with Egypt, the Soviet Union stands a very good chance indeed of redressing the balance in its cooperation with the Arab countries and thereby increasing its presence in that part of the world.

The agreement between Egypt and the Soviet Union to exchange ambassadors coincided with the visit to Moscow by Iraqi First Deputy Prime Minister Ramadan who signed several significant agreements with his hosts. Ramadan's visit to the Soviet Union must have had some influence on Soviet-Egyptian and Egyptian-Iraqi relations. Rapprochement between Iraq and Egypt coincided with the strengthening of Soviet-Iraqi cooperation and normalization of Soviet-Egyptian relations. It should not come as a surprise if, in the near future, we see the relaxation of tension between the moderate Arab countries and the so-called Rejection Front countries. True, there are many obstacles along this path, the most difficult being the conflict between Iraq and Iran. However, it is not certain how long Syria and Libya will persist in supporting Iran if one day all other Arab countries agree to come out more vigorously in favor a cease-fire in the Gulf or, failing that, to extend assistance to Iraq.

The process of consolidation within Arab ranks has been brought about by both the present state of U.S.-Arab relations and the noticeable troubles in Israel itself, where the failure of the U.S. Middle East policy is being increasingly considered as a failure of Israel's own policy of exclusive reliance on the United States. The possible easing of the crisis in Lebanon may cause even more trouble in Israel and may bring about a greater degree of cooling in relations between Israel and Egypt.

It was necessary for Egypt to normalize its relations with the Soviet Union because in this way it will be able to bring its relations with the United States into line with its national interests, the most important of these being its return to the Arab ranks. The Soviet interest is no less because Moscow itself felt the vacuum caused by the expulsion of its ambassador from Cairo 2 and 1/2 years ago. This vacuum prevented the Soviet Union from playing any significant role in the Arab world. True, all this would not be sufficient if the United States did not get so foolishly involved in the Lebanon crisis, thus making it easier for the Soviet Union to surface in the Near and Middle East as a protector of Arab interests, that is, to spread its strong influence in Syria to other Arab countries.

The Americans who are closely following this development, will not stand indefinitely on the sideline, but any action they take to regain what they have lost will have to be based on a different approach from the one they have used thus far in their policy in the Near and Middle East.

## ANGOLAN DEFENSE MINISTER, DELEGATION DEPART

LD282235 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0911 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Belgrade, Apr 28 (TANJUG) -- Angolan Defence Minister Col. Pedro Maria Tonha Pedale left Yugoslavia this morning, Saturday. Since Monday he has headed a military delegation of his country on visit to Yugoslavia.

## TRADE UNION DELEGATION CONCLUDES DPRK VISIT

LD281217 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0940 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Pyongyang, April 28 (TANJUG) -- Democratic People's Republic of Korea President Kim Il-song assessed his countries' relations with Yugoslavia as "very good" today (Saturday).

In a talk with Yugoslav trade unions President Stojan Stojcevski, Kim Il-song particularly stressed the two countries' good cooperation in the preservation of the basic principles of the Movement of Non-Alignment and in support to countries fighting for political and economic independence. The Yugoslav trade union delegation concludes its three-day visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea today.

## ASSEMBLY DISCUSSES FOREIGN POLICY, VISITS, LAW

LD261818 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1411 GMT 26 Apr 84

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Apr (TANJUG) -- The SFRY Federal Chamber Committee for Foreign Policy ended its 2-day session today.

During today's proceedings, the committee endorsed the report on the SFRY Assembly delegation's visit to Cyprus.

Dr Anton Vratusa, chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee, informed the delegates about the visit to Malta by a SFRY Assembly delegation that he led. The committee accepted his report and expressed support for efforts to expand economic cooperation, particularly industrial cooperation, with Malta. The committee also discussed implementation of the law on conducting foreign affairs with the jurisdiction of the federal administration organs and federal organizations. During the preliminary discussion before the report is submitted for discussion to the republics and provinces, it was decided that the results on the whole thus far have been positive and that the law, which was adopted in 1981, has contributed to the promotion of relations of cooperation and coordination and exchange of foreign affairs information among all subjects in Yugoslavia.

During the discussion, several specific suggestions and remarks were made on how to improve the implementation of the law. The delegates particularly insisted that the still outstanding measures on the implementation of this law be adopted. It was stated in the conclusion of the discussion that the implementation of this law represents one of the more significant segments of foreign policy socialization, its creation as well as its implementation.

## FINANCE SECRETARY STRESSES BANK RESPONSIBILITY

AU272055 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] Vlado Klemencic, federal secretary for finance, addressed the business and political aktiv of the Timok region in Bor, speaking about the financial consolidation of the economy and pointed out that the chief responsibility for wrong investment lies with the banks and that the new transformation will certainly considerably reduce the number of banking organizations. Speaking about wrong investment, let us hear Vlado Klemencic's reply to a question by Brana Filipovic, our correspondent, on how in the future one is to resist political pressure for investment, the economic justification of which has not been determined.

[Begin Klemencic recording] I think that it is, above all, essential that the banks be made capable of a professional evaluation of individual investment programs and their possible effects. In some banks, the practice is already quite good, so that investment projects are evaluated and compared on the basis of investment criteria and selection is made on this basis between better and worse projects, and priority is given to those which are better and which relate to priority activities.

I think that, above all, in this direction, in strengthening the professional ability, knowledge, and evaluation of the possible effects, we can avoid (?mistakes), we can avoid problems which we used to have when investments were made on the basis of political decisions and it was later shown that they lacked the economic conditions for viability and for good results. [end recording]

## SPILJAK RECEIVES PEOPLE'S TECHNOLOGY DELEGATION

AU251921 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Apr 84 p 12

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Apr (TANJUG) -- Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received a delegation of the People's Technology -- the Federation of the Organizations for Technical Knowledge of Yugoslavia -- which was led by its president, Mile Arnautovski. Members of the delegation presented to President Spiljak a plaque and the 17 April citation -- the highest recognition for exceptional merits and contribution to spreading and promoting technical knowledge and work-production creativity.